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The Model Merchant of the Middle Ages

Samuel Lysons

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EQUI AURAT VERA EFFIGIES PRECLARI
DOMINI RICHARDI WHITINGTON
Humus sparsoris tetu[m] [illegible] operuerat
Potensa monstrant indice quales erat

The true portraicture of RICHARD WHITINGTON, thrise Lord Maior of London, a vertuous and godly man, full of good Works (and those famous); he builded the Gate of London, called Newegate, which before was a miserable doungeon. He builded Whitington Colledge, & made it an Almose house for poore people. Also he builded a greate parte of y^e^ hospitall of S. Bartholomewes in Westsmithfield in London. He also builded the beautifull Library at y^e^ Gray Friers in London, called Christe's Hospitall; Also he builded the Guilde Halle Chappell, and increased a greate parte of the East ende of the saied halle, beside many other good workes.

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THE MODEL MERCHANT

OF THE MIDDLE AGES,

EXEMPLIFIED IN THE

STORY OF WHITTINGTON AND HIS CAT:

BEING

AN ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THAT INTERESTING STORY FROM THE REGION OF FABLE, AND TO PLACE IT IN ITS PROPER POSITION IN THE LEGITIMATE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY.

BY THE

REV. SAMUEL LYSONS, M.A.,

RECTOR OF RODMARTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. LUKE'S, GLOUCESTER;
AUTHOR OF "THE ROMANS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE," "ÆSOP'S FABLES CHRISTIANIZED," ETC.

"——— Now I think of the sonne
Of Merchandy—Richard of Whitingdon,
That Loade sterre and chief chosen floure;
What hath by him our England of honoure?
And what profit hath been of his riches?
And yet lasteth daily of his worthinesse."

Libel of England's Policie, &c.,
printed in Hackluyt's Collection.

LONDON:
HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO., 33, PATERNOSTER ROW.
GLOUCESTER:
A. LEA, 2, WESTGATE STREET.
1860.

Lough Adds London.
8° 3140.

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THIS MEMOIR

OF ONE OF THE MOST

DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THEIR COUNTY,

(IN THE HOPE THAT THE

EXAMPLE THEREIN CONTAINED MAY BE

EXTENSIVELY FOLLOWED,)

IS AFFECTIONATELY

DEDICATED TO THE YOUTH OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE,

BY THEIR SINCERE FRIEND,

SAMUEL LYSONS.

Hempsted Court,

September 19*th*, 1860.

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"All thynges in this book that ye shall rede,
Doe as ye lyst, there shall no manne you binde
Them to beleve as surely as your crede;
But notwithstanding certes in my mynde,
I durst well swere as true ye shall them fynde,
In every point each answer by and by,
As are the judgements of Astronomye."

Sir Thos. More to them that seek fortune.

"Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings: he shall not stand before mean men."—*Proverbs* xxii. 29.

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PREFACE.

If books were as scarce in the present day as they were at the time when the subject of this Memoir lived, no apology would be needed for adding one more small volume to the catalogue of existing publications; but when the author himself admits the impossibility of making acquaintance with even a thousandth part of the literature of the age in which he lives, some sort of excuse ought, perhaps, to be offered for obtruding another volume, however small, upon a public already satiated with food for the mind. In the present instance he feels that the subject of his biographical notice has never met with the commonest justice; that his hero has hitherto been made the handle of a mere childish romance;* that he has been cast aside as a myth by some graver writers, or has been so misrepresented in the histories hitherto presented to the public, which are full of inaccuracies and anachronisms, that it seems difficult to place his story in its true light, so as to claim for so distinguished a character his proper place in the biography of our country: he trusts, therefore, that this notice of so celebrated a man will not be thought altogether out of place. The author wishes it to be clearly understood that this little work does not pretend to give a full development of the life and character of Richard Whittington; it is simply thrown out as an essay, compiled from documents which have come under the author's

* The author fully believes that ninety-nine persons out of a hundred are not aware that the history of Richard Whittington is anything else than a romance, or child's story, and have no idea that he had a real existence.

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notice—attracted as he was to the subject by the fact of his having in his possession an early copy of Elstrack's rare and curious engraving of Whittington, coupled with the further discovery that he was a fellow-County-man—and has gradually extended itself to its present length out of its original intention, simply as an instructive and entertaining lecture to the inhabitants of his county town, and is presented to the public at the earnest request of many who heard it. Being unwilling therefore to place before his readers any statements which he could not substantiate by documentary and other evidence, he has taken such pains as time and opportunity have allowed, in the midst of a variety of other pursuits, to collect materials from authentic records which may, he trusts, lead others who have more time at their disposal to give some attention to the subject, and follow out the biography of a man so pre-eminently worthy of an abler pen and greater research.

The author has to acknowledge his especial obligations to Mr. Brewer, the able Secretary of the City of London School, and author of the *Life of John Carpenter*, (one of Whittington's executors,) for the assistance he has given him, in most liberally lending him a collection of notes which he had himself made with a view to a similar biography. His thanks are also due to Henry Eugene Barnes, Esq., Clerk to the Mercers' Company, for permission to inspect the original Ordinances of Whittington's Hospital and other interesting documents in the possession of that Honorable Company. He would also wish to record his thanks to Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms, to Mr. Courthope, Somerset Herald, and Mr. Addams, of the Heralds' College, London, for the kind manner in which they placed the documents of the College at his disposal.

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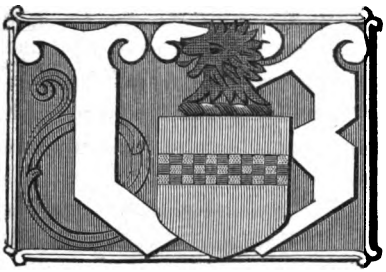
THE MODEL MERCHANT

OF THE

MIDDLE AGES.



ELL do I remember the extreme delight with which, when a boy, I revelled in the popular story of *Whittington*[a] *and his Cat*. I confess that I took an immense interest in the narrative—an interest, perhaps, only surpassed by the disappointment I have felt in after life in hearing, on all sides, that it was a mere fiction, simply a tale made up to amuse children. Nevertheless, a certain amount of desultory reading, in which I have indulged in later years, introducing to my notice passages scattered here and there in historical and old topographical works, coupled with a very curious and ancient portrait which I have in my possession, have called my attention to the question of the reality of my hero's existence, and have led me to make further inquiries into the subject. The result is that, strange as many parts of the story may be, it appears, to my mind, to have a strong claim to admission into a prominent place in the history and biography of our country. It is with the view, therefore, of rescuing this interesting

a The name of Whittington is written in various ways:—Whitingdon, Whytynton, Whityngdon, Whittington, Whyttyngton, Wityndon, Whytindon, Witinton, Whytington, Wittingdon, Wittington, Wityngton. I believe that the most usual is with the single *t*, as his will gives it, and a *y*,—Whityngton. I have, however, preferred to adopt that mode of spelling by which the name has been more generally known in modern times.

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history from being handed over unconditionally to the region of fable, to withdraw it from its mere elementary character as a child's book, and to place it in its proper light, as occupying (as I believe it has every right to do) a distinguished place in our standard biographies, that I have put together the result of my researches. Not that I would rob my young friends of one atom of their amusement, or deprive them of one jot of their delight, in which I most fully sympathize; but I would give them some real foundation upon which to found the example which the story should inculcate.

Many persons who have never heard a question as to its being any thing else than a child's story, may think it a frivolous theme upon which to write a work of this kind. I would request them to suspend their judgments until I have placed before them the facts which I have gathered from notices of our hero, scattered here and there, in books admitted as genuine history, corroborated by other circumstances which I have to show you, but which I do not think any one has ever yet thought it worth while to string together, so as to form a continuous biography, however brief, of Whittington and his Cat. I say his Cat also, because they are inseparable. I have a great regard for Biographical Notices of distinguished persons, as one of the most pleasing and attractive modes of instruction in our moral, social, and religious duties; but if the truth of the narrative be once called into question, its value as a pattern and example is immediately weakened, and we can no longer depend upon it for enforcing those virtues to which it points. Indeed, in consequence of the supposed romance of the story, persons had begun to impugn the very existence of Whittington himself.

Next to our establishing the truth of our biographies, there is another circumstance which gives them an additional interest and claim upon our attention. I mean where we can connect the subject of the history with ourselves, our own country, our own county, our own town, or our own village. It is very important to excite a local interest, especially in young people, and to show what their predecessors have accomplished; because what has been done by others may be done by themselves; and when men have risen to eminence with *few* facilities, surely with *all* our present appliances of education we ought to be able to accomplish a great deal more.

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Divesting, then, the story of Whittington of its mere infantine garb, I have to place him before you as a model of that description of which I have just spoken—as a man of yourselves, a man of your own County, a man who, from small resources, raised himself to affluence by means of trade; and who, when he had been blessed in his efforts, knew what return was due to the God who had prospered him. And this is the more remarkable because, as we shall see presently, he lived in one of the darkest ages of the Christian Church; at a time when there was but a very faint glimmering of Gospel light. He was a man in every way immensely in advance of the age in which he lived, a man of enlightenment in the midst of darkness. We claim Whittington then as a Gloucestershire man, and we may well be proud of such a fellow countryman; indeed it is not surprizing that more villages than one, and that more counties than one should contend for the privilege of having given birth to so distinguished a character. I am told that Herefordshire,[b] Somersetshire,[c] Shropshire,[d] Lancashire,[e] and Staffordshire dispute with us the birthplace of the hero of our tale, as we also read that no less than seven places contended for that of Homer. We find that there have been families of the name of Whittington, at different times, in most of the counties which have laid claim to have

b The family of Whittington undoubtedly possessed property at Solers Hope, in Herefordshire, but they also possessed the estate of Pauntley, in the County of Gloucester, and most probably resided there, as in the *Calendar. Inquis. post mortem*, William de Whitington is noted first as of Pauntley, Gloucestershire, and then of Solers Hope, Herefordshire. The same order of precedence is observed in the Parliamentary Writs, which seems to indicate that Pauntley was at least the chief residence; and we find from the wills of Robert and Guy Whittington that they made it their place of family burial.

Solers Hope is described as "an isolated and, to this day, uninviting estate;" whereas the situation of Pauntley, though remote from towns, is extremely pleasing as to its picturesque features.

c Woodcock's *Lives of Lord Mayors*, p. 28, at Taunton Dean, Somerset.

d *Life of Whitynyton*, London, 8vo. 1828, p. 11. at Ellesmere, Shropshire.

e *Ballad Tale*, (Mackay's *Collection*), p. 4.

None of these authors, however, give any authority, and it is probable that it was a mere guess from their finding that there were villages or places of that name in those counties. He might on such grounds have been equally given to Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Leicestershire, or Northumberland.

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given birth to our hero; but I have been able by my researches in the British Museum to prove most satisfactorily the pedigree of the subject of this work, and to show that he was not in any way connected with any of the other families of the same name. The armorial bearings of the Staffordshire and Somersetshire families are totally different from those of the celebrated Lord Mayor of London, whose arms are identical with those of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, viz., Gules, a Fesse componé (or checky), Or and Azure. *Crest*, a Lion's head, erased Sable, langgued Gules; while those of the Staffordshire family are Argent, three Stars, Gules. *Crest*, a Goat's head issuing out of a ducal coronet. Whittington, of Netsborough, Staffordshire, bears Argent in the field, a Bugle horn between three Escalops; and the arms of the Somersetshire family are Azure, three Salmons Argent. *Crest*, a Salmon sautant Argent; and singularly enough there does not appear to have been any Richard in the pedigree of this latter family. The arms of our hero which appear on the Ordinances of the college and on the hospital which he founded, are identical with those of the Gloucestershire family. He appears, however, from the Visitation of London, in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, to have adopted a different crest from the rest of his family, and whether the interpreters of heraldic insects may determine the crest which he assumed to be a bee, or an ephemera or May fly, the wings tipped with gold, (semé as I believe it is called) they might either of them be considered emblematical of his life; the first as a mark of his industry, the latter exhibiting his ephemeral existence, being the author of his own fortune, yet leaving no children to inherit his wealth. When you know all that I have to tell you of Richard Whittington, I think you will agree with me that we ought not very readily to concede the privilege of having him as a Gloucestershire worthy, descended from a Gloucestershire stock, if not actually born in the County, the probabilities, however, being in favor of the latter supposition, though inasmuch as there were no parish registers[f] at the time when Whittington was born, nor until more

f Parish registers were first introduced by order of Lord Cromwell in 1558. See Bigland's *Observations on Parish Registers*. It appears, however, from the *History of Parish Registers*, by Burn, that it is a disputed point, some authors giving 1501, others 1521 as their earliest date. Whittaker's *Hist. of Sheffield* traces their origin back to 1499. The Register at Pauntley is one of the highest

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than 100 years after his death it would be difficult to fix it with any positive certainty. Our oldest county historian, Sir Robert Atkyns, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, a very good antiquary and genealogian, one who looked at facts with the keen eye of a lawyer, and was not likely to admit evidence of a doubtful character, states that about the beginning of the reign of Edward I. the family of Whittington became possessed of an estate at Pauntley, in this County, nearly nine miles from our County Town, on the borders of Herefordshire and Worcestershire. This estate was handed down from father to son, until it came into the possession of Sir William Whittington[g] who had three, if not more, sons, but he only makes mention of the three eldest, of whom William possessed Pauntley, and dying without issue the estate passed to his brother Robert, who became High Sheriff of this County, (3 Hen. IV.) in 1402 and again in 1407, and Richard the younger, who, he says, "was thrice Lord Mayor of London and a great benefactor to that City." Guy Whittington, son of Robert, was High Sheriff also twice, in 1426 and 1431. Thomas Whittington was High Sheriff in 1472; another, Robert, was High Sheriff in 1495. John Whit-

antiquity in this County, tracing back to 1538. It contains the entry of the burial of Thomas Whittington, the last male of this branch of the family, in 1546.

g Sir Robert Atkyns commits a slight error in making Richard, our hero, to be the son of William Whitington, who married Catherine Staunton, whereas that William was his eldest brother. We have Richard Whitington's own authority for the fact that he was son of Sir William and *Joan*, see his will and his ordinances. Sir Robert appears to have followed an incorrect pedigree in the Heralds' College, in which the same error occurs. We find that this William was succeeded in his estates by his brother Robert, which would not have been the case had he left a son.

Two of Sir Richard's predecessors received the honor of knighthood, but that would not necessarily argue that the dignity was conferred for any distinguished services. The Kings of England, at that period, made the fee, consequent upon the conferring of that honor, a source of profit, by almost compelling persons who had an estate of £20. per annum, *i.e.* £200. per annum of our money, (afterwards it was raised to £40. or say £400. per annum) to become knights. It therefore did not by any means prove that a knight was a man of character, or even of very large fortune. Many paid the fee to escape the honor.—Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 748. Maitland's *Hist. Lond.* vol. 1. p. 127. The practice of extorting fines on this pretence was carried so far that the Commons petitioned that no person should be fined twice for refusing knighthood, but the Crown refused to comply.

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tington served that office in 1517, and William Whittington so late as the reign of George I. in 1714. Pauntley remained in the family as late as 1546, when Thomas Whittington, the last male of his branch died, and the estate passed to the youngest of six daughters, co-heiresses, who married Sir Giles Pole. A brass, commemorating her death, is placed against the wall of the south aisle of Pauntley Church. They had besides, in later times, possessions in other parts of the County, as Tainton, Notgrove [h] Rodborough, Stroud, Cold Ashton, Saint Briavels, Risington, Pitchcombe, and Rodmarton.[i] The Rev. Hugh Whittington[k] was rector of Saint Mary de Crypt, and Saint John the Baptist, Gloucester, in 1551. A collateral branch of this family possessed an estate at Saint Briavels, in the Forest of Dean, and another branch of the family still possesses a considerable property at Hamswell, in the parish of Cold Ashton, in this County. The Rev. William Whittington was Rector of Saint Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, and died 1684. Leland, the antiquary, in his *Itinerary*, written in the reign of Henry VIII., speaks of one Whittington, whom he calls a Gloucestershire gentleman, as being at that time proprietor of the Scilly isles, off the coast of Cornwall;[l] upon such evidence there appears to me no doubt that Whittington was a Gloucestershire man. The family of Whittington was one of those of old landed proprietors

h There are some very interesting monuments of the Whittington family in Notgrove Church, probably John Whittington and his son Alexander in the 16th century.

i The Wyes and Whittingtons were Lords of Rodmarton in very early times, and William Fitzwarren held the manor at the beginning of the reign of Hen. VI. —Atkyns' *Gloucestershire.*

Thomas Whittington, great nephew of the Lord Mayor of London, became possessed of the Manor of Rodmarton, by marriage with the only daughter of John Edwards, and possibly built the Manor House there. There is an interesting brass in that Church to the memory of John Edwards.

k This family served the office of High Sheriff for this County no less than eight times, which is more than any family in the County, with the exception of the Berkeleys and Poynty.

l "One Davers, a Gentilman of Wilshire whose chief house is at Daundesey: and Whitington, a Gentilman of Glocestreshire be owners of Scylley but they have scant 40 markes by yere of Rentes and Commodites of it."—Leland's *Itinerary*, Hearne's Edit., Hen. VIII., vol. 3, p. 19, fol. 6.

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who are the stability of our country; for while revolutions in foreign lands have altered the succession of estates and destroyed that middle class of a landed gentry between the nobility and the lower orders, while changes in our own political and social condition have brought about many alterations in other respects, there has always been maintained among us a class of landed proprietors and sturdy yeomen who have formed a link between the upper and lower classes, occasionally amalgamating with both, and keeping up that chain which constitutes a nation's strength. With the view of preserving this system, the feudal principle of primogeniture was established, and still prevails among us. No sooner does any man, by his talents or perseverance, accumulate a property, but he seeks to perpetuate it in his family, as a record of his talents or his industry. So it has always been amongst us, and I confess I, for one, should be sorry to see in this country that levelling spirit which would destroy the system; but I don't think that it is very likely to occur, for we invariably remark that the men who acquire property by the work of their brain or their hands, are the most anxious to entail the same upon their posterity; and quite right too, so long as they remember one thing:—Nothing without the Lord. "The blessing of the Lord it maketh rich," and so long as they remember that it is only the virtuous and the upright upon whose efforts the Lord looks with satisfaction. In these cases, where a landed estate is to be retained in a family, one alone, of course, can be its representative; the younger branches, like the swarms of a hive of bees, must push out to forage for themselves. Thus, while the acres passed to William, and, failing his issue, to Robert Whittington, Richard must sally forth to seek his own fortune in the world.

At the time I am speaking of, the Manor of Pauntley must have been of very small value, scarcely, I should imagine, more than a knight's fee, or £20. per annum. The parish was at that time nearly all moorland and chase, or woodland, so that there could not be much to spare for younger children consistent with keeping up the family estate. It was held at one knight's fee at the time of the Norman Conquest, and had scarcely improved much in value at the time of Richard II. for I find it described as "Paunteley unum feodum per Willum de Whytington."—*Cal. Inquis. post mortem*, 22 Rich II.

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Now in those days there were few or no professions for the junior branches of the noble and gentle families. There were but few government offices, few lawyers' clerks, no situations under the post-office,[n] which was not then established; few custom-house officers,[o] no standing army[p] or navy. The soldier's life was one of great fatigue and hardship; they generally followed some noble master or knight, who engaged to serve his sovereign for certain wars, and dispersed again as soon as their services could be dispensed with. The pay, though comparatively large, being as much as twopence or threepence a day, failed to make the service very attractive, and whatever distinction their chivalrous masters might obtain, there were then none of these decorations which adorn the breasts of our gallant soldiers and act as an encouragement to select the path of glory. The profession of physician[q] was almost unknown; surgery,[r] combined with the trade of a gossiping barber, was limited almost to shaving and bleeding. Bankers[s] there were none. The clergy absorbed every situation in which much of reading and writing was concerned. Trade was the only resource for the junior members of the higher families, unless the youthful scion of a gentle house should happen to possess certain graces of form and feature which should recommend him as page to

n Post-offices were not introduced into England till A.D. 1581.

o Customs were collected at a very early date, but the first custom-house in London was not established till 1559.

p Armies were so suddenly raised, and after such short service as suddenly dismissed, that they could not be well disciplined. Henry V. was the first of our kings who was sensible of this defect.—Henry's *Hist. Great Brit.* vol. 10. p. 192.

q Dr. Friend, the learned historian of physic, could not find so much as one physician in England, in those times, who deserved to be remembered.—Henry's *Hist. Great Brit.* vol. 10, p. 121.

r When Henry V. invaded France, A.D. 1415, "with a great fleet and army, he carried with him only *one* surgeon. The same prince found it still more difficult to procure a competent number of surgeons to attend his army in his second expedition. That heroic Prince Henry V. himself, it is highly probable, fell a sacrifice to the ignorance of his medical attendants."—Henry's *Hist. Great Brit.* vol. 10, p. 123.

s Banks did not commence in England till 1645. See a rare and curious pamphlet, called "*The Mystery of the Newfashioned Goldsmiths or Bankers Discovered,*" printed in 1676, mentioned in the London and Middlesex vols. of *The Beauties of England and Wales.*

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the lady of some noble or royal house; or unless they became henchmen, or companions[t] to the scions of noble houses, as many of the sons of the principal gentry did. The Tracies, Kingscotes, Veels, and others were attendants upon, and brought up with, the young barons of Berkeley, &c.; one of their privileges, too, was to bear the whipping designed for the young barons in cases of misbehaviour. When a youth entered into one of these noble houses, as he grew older he would continue as a retainer on the establishment, and follow his patron to the wars, when necessary, marrying perhaps, eventually, a daughter of the house, and founding another branch of his family in some other locality. Now poor Richard Whittington, (to judge by Elstrack's portrait of him in mature age), did not possess in his youth the face or figure likely to make an elegant or interesting page, but he evidently was of that more practically useful class of whom the adage justly says,—"Handsome is that handsome does."

Trade was the resource of the younger branches of noble houses. The father of the celebrated[v] Samuel Pepys, nearly related to the Earl of Sandwich, and collateral ancestor of some of our present noble families, being a younger son of an old family, became a tailor. John Coventre, Whittington's executor, the direct ancestor of the present Earls of Coventry, was a mercer.[w] Sir Baptist Hicks,[x] the founder of a line of Baronets, and first Viscount Campden, of this County, was a mercer, and made a large fortune in that trade. It is said that he was then (A.D. 1612) the first person who continued to keep a shop after he had been created a baronet. The same, then, was the case with Richard Whittington; his patrimony was probably very small, perhaps not many shillings, when[y] four pounds a year was considered ample remuneration for a parochial clergyman. We can readily imagine a thoughtful boy in his position, (as his manhood proves to us that he must have been), ruminating in his mind what his future lot in life would be. It was clear that Pauntley, his native village,[z] offered no

t Smythe's *Lives of the Berkeleys.*

v Lempriere's *Biography.* Burke's *Peerage.* Doran's *Habits* and *Men*, p. 301.

w Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage.* Collins's *Peerage, &c.*

x Strype. *y* See Gibson on Door, Hempsted, and Holm Lacy.

z The village of Pauntley is at a considerable distance from any town of consequence, and can scarcely be called a village. It consists of the Church and

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resources to a mind of this stamp. He had heard of London, and to the metropolis he would go; that would present the best chance of success. Of county towns, Gloucester was the nearest and most flourishing; whether he tried that before he went further we cannot say, probably not, and I will tell you why he did not, and how the story, which has been too long considered a romance, is here borne out. According to the pedigree, which I have carefully made out from existing documents, Richard Whittington must have been either

Manor House, which stand close to each other, and a few scattered houses here and there at a distance from the Church. The whole present population is only 256, (in Sir Robert Atkyns' time, houses 30, inhabitants 115,) and, doubtless, was much smaller in Whittington's time. The Church is a beautiful specimen of the early Norman. The zig zag arch which separates the chancel from the body of the Church is singularly fine, as also the arch of the south doorway. To the north is a very ancient porch, built of fine old English oak. There are still remains to be seen of the old Manor House, a portion of which is now used as an out house and a dove-cot, in which there is a good semi-circular-headed doorway. There is no parsonage house at Pauntley. The living, which is valued at £80. per annum, is in the gift of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. I could not help feeling a singular interest when I walked over the ground on which Whittington had trod—sat in the church porch in which he had probably sat—and entered the Church in which he had worshipped as a boy, and in which, doubtless, he was baptized. The Abbey of Cormeilles, in Normandy, one of the alien priories, had a priory in the parish, and also had the advowson of Pauntley, (Henry II.) which remained in their possession until the dissolution of the monasteries, when it was granted to Sir Giles Pole, who married Elizabeth, the youngest of the co-heiresses of Thomas Whittington, the last male of the direct branch of the family. By the will of Robert Whittington (1424) it appears that Pauntley was the burial place of the family. He desires to be buried in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, in Pauntley. His son Guy, by will, (1440) desires to be buried in the New Chapel of St. George, in the above Church, which marks the date and name of that which is now the south aisle. The Church itself seems to have been built soon after the Conquest, probably by Walter de Pauntley. A dispute appears to have arisen in the reign of John, between Walter de Solers, the then Lord of the Manor, and the Abbot of Cormeilles, as to the patronage of the advowson. The application of the latter to the Crown, on the subject, will be seen in the *Appendix*.

A second visit to Pauntley, July 10th, 1860, has brought to light circumstances connected with the history of the Whittington family, overlooked on the occasion of the first visit, which bear peculiarly on the confirmation of the family pedigree. In the north window of the chancel still exist the remains of ancient stained

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a very young child when his father died, or very probably he was not born until after his father's death. The father, we find, died in 1350, and, as Richard died in 1423, he would have been 73 years old at the time he himself departed this life, which falls in with the concurrent

glass, on which are emblazoned the arms of Whittington,* with those of the Linets, Stauntons, and Peresfords families with whom the Whittingtons intermarried, as will be seen in the pedigree, (see end of volume), while in the west window, under the tower, are found the arms of Whittington, impaling Milbourne, on the right hand side, and on the left those of Whittington impaling Fitzwarren, thus clearly identifying our hero, whose wife was Alice Fitzwarren, with the Pauntley family beyond dispute. From the fact of the appearance of the arms of Milbourne in the position in which they are found, we may, in connection with its style of architecture, trace the building of the tower to John Whittington, who married the heiress of Milbourne, and was High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1517, and it is not a little singular that there are evidences which mark the date of every part of that interesting structure; for instance, the Norman arches point to the probable founder of the church, Walter de Pauntley, Lord of the Manor, A.D. 1148. The Chantry of St. George, or side aisle, is pointed out as the place for his interment by Guy Whittington, (Will proved 1440,) as *the New Chapel of St. George, at Pauntley*, and the position of the arms of Milbourne seems to assign the building of the belfry to John Whittington, about A.D. 1517, which John was great great nephew of the celebrated Lord Mayor of London.

* Arms of Whittington,† Gules, a Fesse componé Or and Azure. *Crest*, a Lion's head, erased Sable, langued Gules. Arms of Staunton, Argent, semé of Cross Crosslets, fitchée, a Lion Rampant Sable. Arms of Peresford, Gules, a Fesse Or, between six pears, stalked of the same three and three. Arms of Fitzwarren ‖ party per pale dancettée, Azure and Ermine (or in some Azure and Argent. A blazon in the Harleian MSS., Visitation of London, gives it Gules and Ermine.) Arms of Milbourne, Gules, a Chevron Argent (others Ermine) between three Escalops Argent.

† Slight differences occur in the drawing of the arms of the Whittington family of Gloucestershire. Upon most buildings and monuments in which they occur in the County, the Fesse is rendered with two lines only, checky, while on other documents and pedigrees it is given with three lines, or componé. Atkyns gives four. There is also a slight difference in the rotation of the checks, in some the Or appears first, in others the Azure.

‖ The arms of Fitzwarren are given variously in different places. The party per pale with the Fesse dancettée occurs in all those shewn in connection with this County, but in the arrangement of the color and their distribution there is a difference. In the London Visitation, Harleian MSS., British Museum, they are given first and fourth, Ermine; second and third, Gules. On Elstrack's portrait,

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testimonies as to his age at his death.[a] His mother appears to have been married again[b] very soon after her husband's death, to Thomas Berkeley, of Coberley,[c] in this County, by whom she had a second family, her eldest son by the second marriage becoming High Sheriff for this County, an honor which his father had also enjoyed. There is another circumstance which is well worthy of notice. I find that shortly before the death of William Whittington (Richard's father) he was outlawed[d] by the king, and died during his outlawry. I cannot find the cause of this heavy sentence, but whatever it was, the estate would necessarily have to pay a heavy fine for the inlawry again of the family. This circumstance, together with the jointure charged to his widow upon the Pauntley estate, would leave but a small fortune to the eldest son, to say nothing of the younger ones. Richard, then, having lost his father, and perhaps not being kindly treated by his elder brothers, (for though one of them, viz. Robert, left a family, we do not find that our hero bequeathed any of his vast riches to his nephew), and finding, perhaps, but an uncomfortable home in the family of strangers into which his mother had married, he determined with his very small patrimony to seek his own fortune. Gloucester would have been too near his own estranged family, midway as it was between Pauntley and Coberley. To London, therefore, he would go.

first and fourth, Azure; second and third, Ermine. In Pauntley Church, first and fourth, Azure; second and third, Argent. In Gloucester Cathedral, first and fourth, Azure; second and third, Argent.

a It also bears out the age of Elstrack's portrait, supposing the original to have been painted within a year or two of his death.

b *Calend. Inquis. post mort.* vol. 4. p. 454. "Thomas de Cobberleye filius et hæres Johannæ quæ fuit uxor Willelme de Whityngton defuncti." Probatio ætatis. Glouc.

Dame Joan Whittington held the estate at Pauntley* as her jointure from her first husband, and died possessed of it in 1373-4. She also held Stoke Orchard, in Cleeve parish, as jointure from her second husband. It appears she outlived both.†

c The monument of Thomas Berkeley is still to be seen in Coberley or Cubberley Church, and also that of a female figure, probably his wife, Whittington's mother.

d *Calendarium Inquis. post mortem.* Edw. III.

* Parliamentary Writs.

† Atkyns' *History of Gloucestershire*, under *Cleeve*.

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TABLE
Showing the connection between the Whittingtons & the Berkeleys of Cubberley.

WILLIAM DE BERKELEY,
An ancient Saxon, Lord of Dursley, and founder of the Abbey of Kingswood, Co. Glouc., temp. Hen. I.

1 | 2

ROGER DE BERKELEY, temp. Reg. Steph. ancestor of the Berkeleys, of Dursley.

RALPH DE BERKELEY, temp. Reg. Steph.
WILLIAM DE BERKELEY,
WILLIAM DE BERKELEY,
ROBERT DE BERKELEY,
GILES DE BERKELEY,
} Lords of Chilcote, in Derbyshire.

NICHOLAS DE BERKELEY, obt. s. p.

GILES, otherwise GILBERT DE BERKELEY, died about A.D. 1284. His body was buried, by directions of his Will, at Little Malvern, Worcestershire, and his heart in the Chancel of Cubberley Church, where his monument now exists. See Nash's *History of Worcestershire.*

Second Husband.

Sir THOMAS DE BERKELEY held the Manor of Cubberly A.D. 1335. Built the Chantry of that Church, 1340, some say 1330. Was High Sheriff of Glouc. 1333, 1334, 1350, 1351; held also the Manor of Stoke Archer, in Cleeve Parish, Glouc., and Chilcote, in Derbyshire. Monument in Chancel of Cubberley Church.

= JOAN, daughter of William Mansell and widow of Sir William de Whytyngton, held Pauntley as her jointure from her first husband, and Stoke Archer from her second. Outlived both, and died about 1373. Monument in Chancel of Cubberley Church.

= Sir WILLIAM DE WHYTYNGTON, Lord of Pauntley, Co. Glouc., and Solers Hope, Co. Hereford, obt. 33 Ed. III., 1360. *Outlawed, utlegatus.* Cal. Inq. p. m.* 33 Ed. III., vol. 2, No. 93, named as his father by Sir Richard Whittington, in the *Ordinances of his College.*

First Husband.

First Wife.

Sir THOMAS DE BERKELEY, High Sheriff of Glouc., 1388, obt. 1404, described *Cal. Inquis. p. m.* as "Filius et hæres Johannæ quæ fuit uxor Willi de Whitynton, Probat ætat."

= ELIZABETH, sister and coheir of John Lord Chandos, obt. 44 Edw. III., 1371. Monument probably in chantry of Cubberley Church.

Second Wife.†

= ALICE —— had Cubberley as her jointure.

WILLIAM DE WHITTINGTON, married Staunton, ob. s. p.

ROBERT DE WHITTINGTON, married Peresford. Left issue.

Sir RICHARD WHITTINGTON, married Fitzwarren, obt. s. p., 1423.

ALICE DE BERKELEY = Sir THOMAS BRYDGES: in this marriage terminated the Berkeleys of Cubberley, and the Estate passed to sole heir the Brydges, together with that of Chilcote, Derbyshire.

* It does not at all follow that this outlawry should have been issued for any disgraceful act. If it was in consequence of a resistance to the encroachments of the Crown, one would applaud rather than condemn the martyr to his country's cause. It is only the punishment which all John's barons would have had to undergo, had *he* been successful instead of his subjects. Sir William de Whytyngton, however, lived in turbulent times, and if, perchance, he slew in a foray one who stood higher in Court favor than himself, it was the accident of circumstances, and would imply nothing discreditable, either in those days, or in the eyes of future generations.

† See Note at back of this page.

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† The second wife of Sir Thomas de Berkeley, jun., is called "Alice" by Sir Robert Atkyns, in his *History of Gloucestershire* (under *Cubberley*). She is said by him to have remarried, after her husband's death, to —— Browning; to have held the Manor of Cubberley in jointure; and to have died 2 Henry V., A.D. 1415. But in the *Calendar. Inquis. p. m.*, 7 Henry IV., A.D. 1406, the wife of Thomas de Berkeley, of Cubberley, is called "Margaret," and is described as seized of one-third of the Manor of Childecote, in Derbyshire; one-third of the Manors of Stoke Archer and of Cubberley, in Gloucestershire; and of the Manor of Eldersfield, in Worcestershire. I confess I do not see how to reconcile these differences, and can only suppose that there must be a mistake in the Christian names and dates. It is not probable that the *Calendar. Inquis. p. m.* should be in error, and therefore the presumption is, that the mistake lies with our worthy old County Historian, whose general accuracy is unquestionable. It is, however, just possible that there may have been a third Sir Thomas de Berkeley, of Cubberley, in succession, who has been overlooked by both Atkyns, in his *History of Gloucestershire*, and Fosbroke, in his edition of *Smith's Lives of the Berkeleys*. In this case the pedigree should probably run thus:—

(1) Sir Thomas de Berkeley = Joan, daughter of William Mansell, mother by her first husband (or according to some her second husband) of Richard Whittington and his brothers, obt. 1373-4.

	First Wife.	*Second Wife.*
(2) Sir Thomas de Berkeley, obt. 1404. =	Elizabeth, sister of John Lord Chandos.	Margaret, outlived her husband, and held Cubberley as her jointure, obt. 1406.

	First Husband.	*Second Husband.*
(3) Sir Thomas de Berkeley =	Alice = —— Browning. outlived her husband, and held Cubberley as her jointure, obt. 1415.	

Alice de Berkeley = Sir Thomas Brydges.

This solution of the difficulty, however, is scarcely reconcilable with dates.

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The story book tells us that Richard travelled to London on foot, getting an occasional lift in the wagon of a friendly carrier. Now as to the former part of this account, nothing is more probable, though, for the carrier's wagon, I would say read packhorse; there were certainly no coaches in that day, nor till nearly two centuries afterwards[e] I very much doubt whether there were any wagons such as the carrier's wagons (which are now indeed almost exploded by the invention of railways) for there were literally no roads in those days, nor anything but green tracks across the country, through which packhorses,[f] carrying merchandize, floundered up to their knees in mud, from the frequent use of the tracks without adequate repair.[g] When the gentry and ladies travelled, they did so on horseback,[h] while invalids or ladies unequal to the fatigue of riding were generally carried in litters. Precisely the same state of travelling existed in the island of Sicily when I made the tour in the spring of 1826. It is not probable that Whittington, in setting out to seek his fortune, had the means of supplying himself with a horse of his own; it is therefore not at all unlikely that he did walk, or avail himself of a lift upon one of those packhorses which travelled in companies along the great highways of those days, and, perhaps, rode many a mile perched up among the bales of cloth, of wool,[i] or of spices. In the age when

e The first coach ever publicly seen in England was the equipage of Robert Fitz Allen, steward of the household of Queen Elizabeth.

f A master mercer was fined 20s. in Henry the Sixth's reign, for himself riding with wares of mercery "in fardell and horsepacks for sale in the country," this being considered, I presume, undignified in a *master* mercer.

g The first general statute for mending highways in England was passed in 1555, and surveyors then appointed for the first time.—Andrew's *Continuation of Henry's History of England*, vol. II. p. 243.

h Ladies first rode on side saddles in the fourteenth century (a plan introduced by Queen Anne, of Luxembourg, wife of Richard II., sister of Winceslaus, Emperor of Germany), having before these days ridden astride like men.—*Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. 10, part 1, p. 181, Note.

i Gloucestershire has always been a celebrated county for wool. There were many woolstaplers and clothiers established there, and if (as is not improbable) Whittington fell in with a caravan of these packhorses, it might have been the means of his introduction to the mercers, who at that time dealt almost exclusively in that article.—(See *Sumptuary Act*, 37, *Edw. III.)*

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Whittington lived, men had not half the advantages which the Britons enjoyed under the early rule of the Romans in this country. Gibbon[k] tells us that they had post-horses and posting-houses, at suitable distances along the lines of road, throughout their extensive dominions. The Romans carried civilization with them wherever they went. When they quitted Britain desolation followed; the knowledge of the arts and sciences, which had been previously cultivated to a considerable extent by the Druids, died out with them. Learning was confined to the priests and monks; schools, except at the monasteries, there were none;[l] educated men were few and far between, so that even kings and nobles could do little more than sign their name, if they could do even that; while one king (Henry I.) who had advanced a little beyond his predecessors in learning, was, on that account, called Beauclerc, or the good scholar. When learning was in so low a state among those of high rank and the learned professions, we may conclude that the common people were totally illiterate. It was not till the reign of Henry IV. that villeins, *i. e.* farmers and mechanics, were permitted by law to put their children to school, and long after that they dared not educate a son for the church without a licence from their Lord.[m]

That Richard Whittington should have picked up any education at all, at such a time, proves that he must have been a persevering youth, seeking information under difficulties, which we are thankful to say do not beset young people of the present age, when the school master is indeed abroad, and when ignorance is not only the fruitful parent of crime, but is a crime itself—that is to say, wherever it is wilful ignorance. It is a sin to neglect and wilfully refuse the knowledge which is to save the soul alive, and that education through which it is to be obtained. Many stories have been told of painstaking and persevering youths of olden times, who have educated themselves by picking up a book here and there at a book-stall, when the expense of a school would have been quite beyond their reach; but if we are inclined to give *them* credit, what must we give to our friend Whit-

k Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1. p. 82, and Note.
l Henry's *History of Great Britain*, vol. 10, p. 109, &c.
m Statutes, 7th Henry IV. ch. 17.

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tington when—inasmuch as the art of printing was not discovered by Lorenz Koster, at Haerlem, until 1430,[n] or seven years after Whittington's death; and was not introduced to England by Caxton[o] until 1472—there could have been no book-stalls, and it would have been of little use to expose for sale manuscripts which, not only the people, but many even of the monks and priests were unable to read, to such a degraded state was the church and society at large reduced in those days. When we look at our steam printing presses, at an unstamped copy of the *Times*, with its sixteen closely printed pages for fourpence, and at the *Standard*, *Telegraph*, and other papers for a penny, and a New Testament for fourpence,[p] we are apt, perhaps, to look with contempt or pity upon the ages that are past, and hug ourselves with satisfaction at our superiority; but do we look up to Him who has made us to differ, and seek to glorify Him in the use we make of the superior privileges which we possess?

In the midst of our brilliant men of talent and research, I can scarcely point out amongst ourselves (even advantages not being excepted) the equal to Richard Whittington. Education obtained under difficulties is perhaps the more valued, and, with a truly benevolent mind, Whittington did not grudge to others what he had himself acquired at so great a cost of pains and perseverance, as I shall hope to show you when I come to speak by and by of the libraries which he founded. Indeed I think it very probable that Whittington was instrumental in getting the law passed which, in the reign of Henry IV., took off the restrictions upon education, and allowed the children of the middle classes to go to school.

The story books tell us that young Whittington was attracted to London by the report that its streets were paved with gold: perhaps this figurative expression may have been taken literally by the poor youth. I don't believe that the streets of London

n See Henry's *History of Great Britain*, vol. 10, book 5.

o William Caxton was agent to the Mercer's Company. It is highly creditable to that great company that they have had amongst their number some of the most intellectual men of early times.

p Wickliff's first translation of the Testament sold for a sum equal to £40 of our money:—See Hartwell Horne's *Critical Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures*, vol. 2.

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were paved at all, at that early period. Even in Mr. Pepys' day, more than two centuries afterwards, carriages had great difficulty in moving through the streets, and could not do so without danger to the vehicle, which was of much ruder and stronger build than those of our day. Still the figure had a very significant meaning, namely, that the path to riches was through the streets of the metropolis, as doubtless our friend eventually found out, even though sorely disappointed at first. That London is now paved with gold may also be said in more senses than one, when we calculate the expense per mile, or yard, of the paving, pitching, or macadamizing, and the cost of the beautiful granite pavement, with its fossil shells and madripores, which ornament the foot-way over London Bridge; when we reckon also the enormous amount of traffic which passes over any great thoroughfare of the metropolis in one day, to say nothing of the thousands of cart loads of manure, in the way of scavenging, which are daily taken from the streets, and sold for large sums, and go to fertilize the market gardens in the neighbourhood, and to reproduce food for man and beast.

Most young people have a fancy, like our friend Richard, to see something of the world, and have, like him, to purchase their experience through many a bitter struggle and many a severe disappointment. The lesson, however, is not the less valuable when it causes the lad to retrace his steps "a sadder yet a wiser youth." The path to riches is a very slippery one, especially when the ascent is rapid, and the slide downwards is not generally very pleasant.

Whether Richard really found his resources so utterly fail him on his arrival in London that he was obliged to undertake a menial situation, we do not know, except from the story book, though it is not improbable, because every junior position in a house of trade in those days was, to a certain degree, what we should now call menial. Whittington's journey from Pauntley to London must have occupied him fully four days. When roads first became fit for wheels, it took a week or ten days, for a coach to go from York to London, and the travellers generally made their wills before they set out on so perilous an expedition. The inns[q] were such that travellers often bought their own meat, and got it cooked at the inn, and as to accommodation

q Fynes Morrison.

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for the night none, except the highest nobility, disdained to sleep two or three in a bed, whence arose that old saying,—"Poverty acquaints men with strange bedfellows." [r]

We who travel with the luxuries of first and second class carriages, and enter papered, painted, and gilded refreshment rooms, decorated with splendid mirrors, and can afford a bed apiece, can scarcely picture to our mind's eye the difficulties with which travellers had to contend in those days.

The danger, too, from robbers, was such as we can form no adequate idea of in our present age and country, or perhaps in any country in Europe now-a-days, unless it be Spain or Italy. Persons of high rank did not disdain to become freebooters, and brigands. Witness the feats of Robin Hood, the bold Earl of Huntingdon; and here a singular occurrence may be mentioned as illustrative of the manners and habits of the age in which our hero lived. It so happened that his brother Robert and his nephew Guy where riding on horseback, in the neighbourhood of the city of Hereford, when eight servants of a certain Richard Oldcastle, Esq. with other miscreants, to the number of thirty, seized, and carried them off to a hill called Dynmore Hill, and after robbing them of their horses and property, kept them all night in a deserted chapel, and threatened them with death, or to be carried off into Wales. At last Guy was liberated to procure a ransom, on condition that he returned the following day; meanwhile his father was led by these robbers from wood to wood, to a certain mill, where, on Guy's return, they were both imprisoned until they promised to pay the robbers six hundred pounds upon their release, and to enter into a bond to forego all actions *from the creation of the world* down to the feast of All Saints then next ensuing. Upon these grounds, Robert Whittington supplicates the king, through the Parliament, to declare such bonds and covenants null and void, and to take legal proceedings against those miscreants. The copy of the original grant of the application from the Parliamentary Rolls is given in the *Appendix*.

r The celebrated bed at the inn at Ware, Hertfordshire, existing at that time, was twelve feet square, and would accommodate a goodly number of bedfellows. —Rees' *Cyclopædia*, under *Ware*.

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Richard's journey being over, he had of course to set to work to get his own living; and as the first struggles for a maintenance, with really few exceptions, are the same in all ages and countries, we can readily imagine the conflicting thoughts which possessed him. How many of us have experienced the same feelings,—now despairing of success; now disheartened by sharp and angry words from employers and their subordinates, or galled by false insinuations and the misrepesentation of our best motives; now envious at the more rapid progress of others, or their (to our views) unmerited promotion; and now repining at the want of opportunity for distinction, feeling that we have the ability, if a way were only opened, and thinking it a long time to wait. Even if we do not accept the narrative of Whittington's early adventures (so far at least as concerns his rough treatment by the cook, at the house where he first obtained employment), some disappointment seems, according to tradition, to have led him to quit the metropolis soon after he had arrived there, and wearied, vexed at heart, and depressed in spirit, he sat down at the first milestone out of London, and there heard the sound of Bow bells pronouncing to his ears,—

"Turn again Whittington,
Lord Mayor of London."

A stone continued to mark the spot for many centuries, to which tradition points as Whittington's stone. It has been objected that this stone could not have been erected to commemorate such an event, but that it was the basement plinth of an ancient village cross. Be it so! the idea is so much the more beautiful, and not the less probable, when we think of the poor boy sitting down at the foot of the cross, there to reflect upon the past and to look forward to the future. Crosses were very common in those days in the centre of nearly every village; whither, then, could poor Richard better seek for rest when no friendly house was open to him. We can well imagine the thoughts which would crowd into his mind, either as to the toil entailed by that high stool at which he sat at his master's desk, or the drudgery of sweeping out his master's shop, but we should form a very erroneous impression of what commerce was then if we were to judge of it by the vast warehouses of our own day, and the really comfortable clerks' offices, decorated with maps and charts of every country under the

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sun. A merchant's apprentice was in every sense of the word a menial servant; he had to work his way up through the commonest drudgery of sweeping out the shop, washing the door-steps, and sundry other offices at which many would rebel in the present day. And when I say the shop, the great merchants were shopkeepers, (witness my former remark about Sir Baptist Hickes), and yet the same gradations of society were kept up, and the shop was not despised by the younger branches of our most illustrious houses. For an idea of the kind of life rather more than two centuries later, we can scarcely have a better illustration than Mr. Pepys' *Diary*, which was published a few years ago. It is folly, therefore, to say that the tale of Whittington is a romance or an improbability, simply because it gives a different picture of life from that which we see in our own day. Nevertheless the same feelings of humanity, the same passions, the same hopes and fears, the same propensities, the same joys and sorrows and struggles and rewards have always accompanied the life of man; there is the same model of virtue to be imitated and the same example of vice to be avoided. If Whittington arrived at the cross at the foot of Highgate Hill, as it was getting dark, and hesitated to ascend the hill until he had offered up a prayer to the throne of grace for guidance, how gladly would he hail the sound which, under the influence of his present impressions, spoke peace to his mind, and, if they did not actually present to his imagination the words attributed to them, induced him to return with cheerfulness and an eased mind to a toil which roving about in the world would not be likely to improve. We read in Stowe's *Survey of London* that "Bow bell (and I don't find that there was more than one in those days) was usually rung somewhat late, as seemed to the young men, 'prentices and others, in Cheape, *i. e.* Cheapside. That Curfew was then the signal to leave off work, and these young men thinking it delayed unreasonably late, set up a rhyme against the clerke as followeth:—

"Clerke of the Bow Bell,
With the yellow lockes,
For thy late ringing
Thy head shall have knockes."

"Whereto the clerke replying, wrote—

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"Children of Cheape,
Hold you all still,
For you shall have the
Bow bell rung at your will."

The sound of Bow bell was much admired by others, whatever the notions of the apprentices might have been as to its musical tone; and we find that John Dunne, mercer and parishioner, about 1499, left two houses in Bow Lane, for the maintaining of Bow bell. Whatever it was that brought the young truant back, he returned with a steady determination to stick to business, in spite of difficulties and the frowns of the world. The trade which he entered appears to have been that of mercer; and what that was in his day we learn from the *Introduction to the Chronique de London*, published by the Camden Society:—"The mercers, as a metropolitan guild, may be traced back to A.D. 1172; it was not until the fifteenth century that they took their station among the merchants, and from being *mere retailers* became the first city company. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the mercers monopolized the silk trade; woollen stuffs having, prior to that period, constituted their staple business, and up to which time they had been only partially incorporated."

Thus we discover that in Whittington's younger days the mercers were mere retail dealers. "Mercery," says one writer[s] on this subject, "was originally pedlary, or haberdashery; and it was not until the reign of Henry VI. that they dealt largely in silks and velvets, and turned over their previous trade to the haberdashers. There was, doubtless, plenty of hard work to undergo before Whittington was a proficient in the trade. He had, like many others since, to begin at the lowest round of the ladder of success, before he could reach to the top; that he did eventually reach that high and distinguished position, authentic history and the noble charities left by him, still extant, leave no room to doubt. But how did he get the first start in life?

Here we must revert to the tale, and then we have to compare it with genuine history and with contemporaneous events, so as to

[s] *History of the Twelve Companies of London*, by William Herbert, Librarian to the Corporation of London, 2 vols, 8vo. 1837.

The Sumptuary Act of 37, Edward III. shows that the mercers then only sold woollen, but not silk.

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establish either its truth, or such an extreme probability as to leave in *my* mind, and I think in yours also, very little room to doubt.

The story book tells us that his master, a rich merchant, was about to fit out a ship to trade to the Coast of Barbary (some say Guinea), and that being of a generous and kind hearted disposition, he called his servants together and asked of them whether they would like to have shares in the venture, as a speculation was then called. In those days there were no savings banks, or indeed any other banks, in which the lower orders could invest their savings and obtain a fair prospect of increasing their little capital. It was therefore very kind of this liberal minded merchant to give his domestics a chance of bettering their condition. When all had responded to this invitation to the best of their abilities, Richard was asked whether he had anything to venture. The poor lad hung down his head, ashamed that he alone should have nothing to offer, and most bashfully he whispered no! A malicious fellow-apprentice, however, who was envious of Richard's steadiness of character, which he had no desire to imitate, and jealous of the pleasure he enjoyed in caressing a favorite kitten which he had bought for a penny, (his only pleasure, probably,) craftily suggested that Richard might venture his cat. The master caught at the suggestion, and it was decided that the cat should be sent. We need not dwell upon the grief of the guileless lad at parting with his favorite, the only creature he thought that he had in the wide metropolis on which to bestow affection, and the only one which, by purring and other signs of feline satisfaction, would appear to return his love. This may be supposed to have been a mark of weakness on Richard's part by some who are made of sterner stuff. The cat, however, was sent and shortly became a great favorite of the captain of the ship. Immediately on the arrival of the vessel at its destination begun that process of barter which was customary with those barbarous nations. It happened that the king of the country (for kings themselves at those times and in those parts were traders) invited the captain to dinner; but while apparently thus agreeably employed, little enjoyment could be had from the swarms of rats which ran over the table and carried off the viands, nothing terrified by the presence of royalty, or royalty's guests, though represented by

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a bluff, honest, John Bull captain of a good English merchant ship. The captain naturally expressed his surprise at this intrusion, and was told by his sable majesty in reply that it was unfortunately too common an occurrence. The captain said that he had an animal on board his ship which could, in a trice, rid him of such troublesome and annoying vermin. Upon this the king invited him to dinner on the following day, and requested him to bring his remedy. Accordingly the captain presented himself at the appointed hour, when, the meat being placed on the table, a scene followed similar to that of the previous day; upon which pussy was liberated from the captain's capacious pocket, and a few seconds sufficed for her to make the most satisfactory havoc of her natural enemies. The king and queen, forgetting their dignity, shouted with delight, and offered to give a rich casket of jewels for so valuable an animal. The bargain was soon made, and the captain, having completed his business, set sail on his return voyage to England, when safely arriving, he communicated to his employer the wonderful success he had met with. The honest merchant was of too noble a character to touch a penny of this wealth, but handed it all over to poor Richard, who was thus, in a moment, advanced from the position comparatively of a beggar to be as rich as a prince, to the infinite disgust of the malicious apprentice, who could not help inwardly regretting that he had been thus undesignedly the means of his rival's good fortune. The story goes on to say that he subsequently married his patron's daughter, Alice Fitzwarren, and became extremely rich and prosperous, and was thrice made Lord Mayor of the City of London.

Now let us see how this story is corroborated by other evidence, because a story so strange and unparalleled in modern times has met with many incredulous persons who are ready enough to pronounce their judgment, without taking the trouble to inquire into the probabilities of its truth. Dr. Lempriere[t] very summarily rejects the tale at once in the following words:—"The various stories reported of him are calculated for the amusement of children, but have no foundation in truth." Pennant[v] says, "I leave the history of the Cat to

[t] *Biographical Dictionary*, under *Whittington*.

[v] *History of London*, 4to., 1790, pp. 312, 313.

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the friend of my younger days, Mr. Punch, and his dramatical troop," yet he says that "his fortune was not without a parallel, for it is recorded how Alphonso, a Portuguese, being wrecked on the Coast of Guinney, and being presented by the king thereof with his weight in gold for a cat to kill their mice, and an oyntment to kill their flies, which he improved within five years to £6000. on the place, and returning to Portugal after fifteen years traffic becoming the third man in the kingdom." But the author who has carried his objections to the tale to the greatest length is Mr. Thomas Keightley, in his ingenious little work on *Tales and Popular Fictions*[w] and he says, "In the whole of this legendary history there is, as we may see, not a single word of truth further than this,—that the maiden name of Lady Whittington was Fitzwarren!" Surely Mr. Keightley, as an historian, must have known something of the histories of Stow, and Strype, and Rapin, and the *History of the Mercer's Company*, and should have known that Whittington was Lord Mayor of London three times, at least, if not more. Yet he quotes the first scene in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, written about A.D. 1613, in which the citizen says to the prologue, "Why could not you be contented as well as others with the legend of Whittington? or the life and death of Sir Thomas Gresham, with the building of the Royal Exchange? or the story of Queen Eleanor with the rearing of London Bridge upon woolsacks?" "The word legend," says Mr. Keightley, "in this place would seem to indicate the story of a cat, and we cannot therefore well assign it a later date than the sixteenth century." Surely Mr. Keightley did not mean that the word legend[x] necessarily meant a fable. Beaumont and Fletcher coupled the tale of Whittington, in this instance, with well known historical facts or traditions, such as the life of Sir T. Gresham and Queen Eleanor; even that of London Bridge[y] being built upon woolsacks may have had a fertile meaning,

w Tales and Popular Fictions, their Resemblance and Transmission from Country to Country, by Thomas Keightley, author of *Outlines of History*. London, 1834. 8vo. chap. vii.

x Johnson's Dictionary gives four meanings to the word legend. 1. A chronicle or register of the lives of saints. 2. Any memorial or relation. 3. Any inscription, particularly on coins and medals. 4. An incredible, unauthentic narrative.

y London bridge, then built of timber, was burnt down 1136, and was rebuilt of stone, 1176. The building occupied 33 years. The architect, Peter, died four

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the suggestion being that the tide ran so strong at that point of the river that it carried away all the stones thrown in for a foundation, and it was not until stones were sewed up in woolsacks and thrown in in this manner that they could be kept together. Mr. Keightley argues the improbability of the tale of Whittington's Cat from the fact that there were tales of a similar nature current, both before and at Whittington's date, in several other countries. In South America, in Denmark, in Tuscany, in Venice, and in Persia; but surely instead of that being a proof that the story of Whittington's Cat was a fabrication, it strikes me on the contrary as a corroboration, and shews that it was the more probable from its not being a singular instance. The price said to have been paid by Don Diego Almagro (the companion of Pizarro in 1535) to Montenegro, for the first Spanish cat that ever was taken to the Indies, *i. e.* Chili, viz., 600 pieces of eight, is related as a matter of history by Alonzo de Ovalle, a native of that country, and is given in a *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 6 vols. fol.[z] In another volume of the same collection is a description of the Coasts of South Guinea by Mons. Jean Barbot, translated in 1732, in which appears the following account:[a]—"Cats, by the blacks called Amboyo, *whose breed came from Europe*, retain their first form and shape and do not alter their nature. They are generally much valued by the blacks for clearing their houses of rats and mice, which are very numerous, especially the first, doing much harm to the inhabitants by devouring and gnawing all they can come at. They are exactly like ours in Europe, as to shape, color, and mischievousness. They did us such considerable damage—that

years before it was completed. A priest, named Isenbert, was recommended by King John for the honor of completing it, but the city rejected the prince's choice and committed the work to three merchants (qy. wool merchants) of London. This great work was founded on enormous piles, driven as closely as possible together; on them was placed the base of the pier, the lowermost stones of which were bedded in pitch, to prevent the water from damaging the work.—Pennant's *London*, p. 296.

z *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 6 vols. fol. London, 1732, in which (vol. 3.) is given an historical relation of the kingdom of Chile, by Alonso de Ovalle, of the Company of Jesus, a native of Saint Jago, in Chile, and procurator of Rome for that place. Printed at Rome by Francisco Cavallo, 1649.

a *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, as above, vol. v. p. 216.

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to encourage the destroying of them I allowed a pound of salt butter for every score of rats they, *i. e.* his sailors, catched. It is worth observing in this place that the rats were so ravenous as to eat several of our parrots alive, and even to steal away our breeches and stockings in the night and to bite us severely." Here we have a strong corroboration of the probabilities of the tale of Whittington's Cat, both in bearing testimony as to the value of a cat, the abundance of rats in Guinea in the time of Monsieur Barbot, 1680, and the source from whence that people received their cats. And this draws forth an interesting inquiry as to when the cat was first domesticated, and from whence we received it. It is not a little singular that neither the cat nor the rat are mentioned at all in the Bible, either in the Old or New Testament. We know that cats were highly prized, and even had divine honors paid to them in Egypt. We read in Gesner,[b] "*Feles antiquitus non erant mansuefactæ, vivebant in agris inde urbes et domos replevêre.*" Cats were not tamed of olden time, they lived in the fields, and from thence filled cities and houses. The Pannonian cats were highly valued by the Romans. Martial[c] says that Pudens sent a present of one to his lady love.

Jacobus Diaconus, in the *Life of Saint Gregory the Great*,[e] who died A.D. 604, speaking of that mild and benevolent pontiff, after he had retired from all secular employments to live in a monastery, says, "He possessed nothing in the world except a cat, which he carried in his bosom, frequently caressing it, as his sole companion." Mahomet,[f] the great prophet of the Turks, who lived about the same time as Gregory the Great, was also extremely attached to a cat which he kept in the sleeve of his gown, and carefully fed with his own hands.

b Conrad Gesner, Med.Togur. *Hist. Animal*, fol. under *Felis*. Frankfort, 1620.

c Epigr. lib. xii.—"*Pannonicas nobis numquam dedit Umbria Cattas**
Mavult hæc dominæ mittere dona Pudens."

Umbria has never produced Pannonian cats. Pudens begs to send a present of one to his lady love.

e Lib. vi., c. 24. *f* Wood's *Zoology*, vol. 1, 229.

* Cat, with little variety, is the same in most languages:—

English, Cat; *Latin*, Cattus, Catta; *Hebrew*, כתול Catul; *Saracenic*, Katt; *Greek*, καττης; *Modern Greek*, κατις; *Italian*, Gatto-a; *Spanish*, Gato-a; *French*, Chat; *German*, Katz; *Illyrian*, Kotzka.

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His followers at Damascus, in consequence of their prophet's attachment to the animal, established a college of cats, which were attended to with the greatest regard. These instances show that the animal had then, at least, been occasionally domesticated.

Goldsmith[g] says that "it is one of those quadrupeds which is common to the new as well as the old world, for when Columbus first discovered that country, a hunter brought him one which he had found in the woods;" but this, of course, was not a domestic cat. Pennant[h] argues that "cats were not aborigines of these islands, or known to its earliest inhabitants. The large prices set on them (if we consider the high value of specie at that time), and the great care taken of the improvement and breed of an animal that multiplies so fast, are almost certain proofs of their being little known at that period."

The scarcity of cats in Europe in its earlier ages is also well known, and in the tenth and eleventh centuries a good mouser brought a high price. Domestic cats were probably first imported from Egypt to Cyprus, and thence to England. In a letter to the Editor of the *Antiquarian Repertory*,[i] a correspondent says—"There is a tradition I have somewhere met with, that cats were brought from Cyprus by[k] some foreign merchants who came hither for tin." The ancient *Laws and Institutes*, supposed to be enacted by Hoel Dha,[l] or Howell the Good, have some very stringent clauses as to the preservation of

g Goldsmith's *Natural History*. (Cat.) *h* Pennant's *Zoology*. (Cat.)

i *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 2, pp. 364-5.

k *A Natural History of Quadrupeds*, 2 vols. 8vo. printed and published by Brightly and Co., Bungay, 1811, gives the following curious account of cats, showing the value of them and respect paid to them from an early period down to a comparatively recent date:—

At Aix, in Provence, on the festival of Corpus Christi, "the finest Tom Cat in the country, wrapped in swaddling clothes like a child, was, on this occasion, exhibited to the admiration of the gaping multitude in a magnificent shrine. Flowers were strewed before him, every knee bent as he passed, and the adorations he received unequivocally pointed him out as the god of the day. The strongest circumstance attending this ceremony is that it continued in all its splendour in the eighteenth century, and was not finally suppressed till about the year 1757."

l Published by the Commissioners of the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1841.

It is a little circumstance not unworthy perhaps of note, that one of the charges against the Knights Templars in 1309 was "*quod adorabant quendam catum sibi in ipsa congregatione apparentem.*" "That they worshiped a certain cat which was

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cats, and give some very striking proofs of their value at that time. Hoel Dha died about A.D. 948, after a reign of 33 years, about 400 years before Whittington's birth. These enactments are so curious that I cannot help inserting a few of them in illustration of my argument.

"The Vendotian Code:"—

"XI. The worth of a cat and her teithi (*i. e.* her qualities) this is—

"1st. The worth of a kitten, from the night it is kittened until it shall open its eyes, is a legal penny.

"2nd. And from the time that it shall kill mice, twopence.

"3rd. And after it shall kill mice, four legal pence; and so it always remains.

"4th. Her teithi are to see, to hear, to kill mice, and to have her claws."

The "Dimetian Code" is as follows:—

"XXXII. Of Cats.

"1st. The worth of a cat that is killed or stolen. Its head is to be put downward upon a clean even floor, with its tail lifted upwards, and thus suspended, whilst wheat is poured about it until the tip of its tail be covered, and that is to be its worth. If the corn cannot be had," (remark this, "if the corn cannot be had," because when corn is scarce it enhances the cat's value,) then "a milch sheep, with her lamb and its wool, is its value, if it be a cat which guards the king's barn.

"2nd. The worth of a common cat is four legal pence.

"3rd. The teithi of a cat, and of every animal upon the milk of which people do not feed, is the third part of its worth, or the worth of its litter.

"4th. Whosoever shall sell a cat (*cath*) is to answer, &c., and that she devour not her kittens, and that she have ears, eyes, teeth, and nails, and be a good mouser."

In "The Gwentian Code," chap. XX., the value of a cat is increased since the former edicts. After relating the mode of calculating the value of the king's cat, by holding it by the tail and covering it with wheat, it says, as to the cat's qualities:—

"3rd. That it be perfect of ear, perfect of eye, perfect of teeth, perfect of tail, perfect of claw, and without marks of fire."*m*

If a cat was found faulty in any one of those particulars, a third of her price was to be refunded to the purchaser. There were two

present in the very congregation." If they had introduced that animal from the East, and had become thereby acquainted with its valuable properties, and had, consequently, like good Hoel, some stringent laws as to its preservation, it might readily be supposed by an ignorant multitude, that the cat was an object of worship among them.

m Ut adustus timet incendia Cattus.—*Metellus*, in *Quirinalibus*, in Du Cange's *Glossary*.

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reasons for the condition with respect to fire, for cats which lie much by the fire side are generally lazy and bad mousers, and also if they have been singed at all the rats would be sure to discover them by the smell. It then goes on to say:—

"4th. That the Teithi and the legal worth of a cat are coequal."

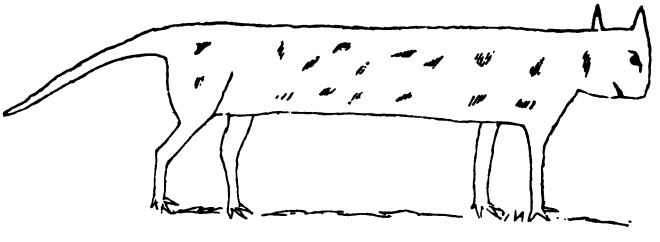
And then follows a curious comparison of the value of a cat in proportion to the rank and dignity of the owner, viz:—

"5. A pound is the worth of a pet animal of the king.

"6. The pet animal of a breyer is six score pence in value.

"7. The pet animal of a taoog is a curt penny in value."

And in the 39th chapter, 53rd section, it is said, "there are three animals whose tails, eyes, and lives, are of the same worth—a calf, a filly for common work, and a cat, excepting the cat which shall watch the king's barn," indicating that such a cat was still more valuable. Another old Welsh law says, (chap. 11, sec. 36), "Three animals reach their worth at a year; a sheep, a cat, and a cur," *i.e.* a dog: and it goes on to say, (chap. 33), "This is the complement of a lawful hamlet; nine buildings, and one plough, and one kiln, and one churn, and one cat,[n] and one cock, and one bull, and one herdman." A note on the above law, apparently in a different hand, and of a later date, says that a cat was then valued as worth "a whole barn full[o] of wheat (plenum horreum tritici)" and that there might be no mistake as to the animal that was meant by the word *Cath*, and that no boor might kill one through ignorance or inadvertence, pussy's picture is



given in the MSS. of the *Laws*. This drawing of a cat in Howel Dha's *Laws*, observe, was about coeval, according to some authorities,

n Cats, in the old Latin, are called *Murilegus* (or the mouser) and *Cattus;* in British, *Cath.*

o "Prē cat est loneit scubaur o wenithe," ("plenum horreum tritici, &c.")

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with the White Horse, in Berkshire, cut against the chalk hill, but there is no more mistaking that for anything but a horse, than there is a possibility of mistake as to this figure being meant for a cat, notwithstanding the Pre-Raphaelite execution of the design.

Bewick, the naturalist, in noticing Hoel Dha's *Laws*, says:—"Whatever credit we may allow to the circumstances of the well known story of *Whittington and his Cat*, it is another proof of the great value set on this animal in former times." Seeing, then, what was the value of a cat in this country a few centuries before Whittington's time, and in other countries for some centuries afterwards, there is no reason to reject the story of Whittington having laid the foundation of his fortune by the means attributed to him.

I find some curious notices in Du Cange's *Glossary*, under the head of *Cats*, mentioning the frequent use of their skins for the pelisses of abbots and abbesses, and some regulations made by the ecclesiastical authorities[p] respecting the fastidiousness of the clergy, and their extravagance in respect of furs. Nothing would satisfy them but the skins of the rarest wild Spanish cats. I could hardly, however, imagine that trade in these skins was the source of Whittington's wealth, though it might be more consistent than some opinions which have been suggested, because peltries would have been a legitimate part of the dealings of a mercer or haberdasher. But as there is a great tendency in mankind to judge of ancient history by what is passing before their own eyes, and to dispute everything which does not coincide with their own limited notions, so several attempts have been made to explain the story of the cat in some other way than that of the popular tale. Keightley, who has taken more pains to invalidate Whittington's history than any one else, says, "I hardly ever knew in my own country an instance of the attainment to opulence by a man who, as the phrase goes, had risen from nothing, that there was not some extraordinary mode of accounting for it among the vulgar, and

p Cattinarum sive aliarum pellium notabilis et damnabilis curiositas quæ in tantum ut ipse novi processerat, ut Gallicanorum cattorum pellibus contemptis ad Iberorum vel Italorum cattos, religiosorum hominum curiositas transmigraret.

Consuetudines Cluniac. Petri Venerabilis c. 17. in *Gloss.* Du Cange.

Pellicias habebant; jacebant super cilicia; habebant coopertorias cattinas.—*Hist. Monast. Abbenton in Anglia.*

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then he treats with the utmost ridicule the tale of a man whose original name had been Halfpenny (who when he rose in the world refined it to Halfpen) who had grown rich from the humblest means. To show that there is nothing so extravagant in the story,[q] let us take the Biography of the Successful Merchant, Mr. Samuel Budgett, also a Gloucestershire man. He tells us himself that the foundation of his fortune was the picking up of a horseshoe, which he sold for a penny, and there is a gentleman of title and large possessions in this and an adjoining county whose grandfather commenced his fortune with half-a-crown in his pocket. Surely it would reflect no discredit on the Biography of Mr. Samuel Budgett, even should it be shown that other successful youths had made their fortunes by means of a horseshoe, in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Portugal, in Persia, in India, or elsewhere.

Mr. Keightley then proceeds to throw more ridicule on the story of Whittington by quoting from Foote's farce called *The Nabob*, in which a burlesque is cast upon the Society of Antiquaries in the character of Sir Matthew Mite. That person is introduced as saying "That Whittington lived no doubt can be made; that he was Lord Mayor of London is equally true; but as to the Cat, that, gentlemen, is the Gordian knot to untie. And here, gentlemen, be it permitted me to define what a cat is. A cat is a domestic, whiskered, four-footed animal, whose employment is catching of mice; but let puss have been ever so successful, to what could pussy's captures amount? No tanner can curry the skin of a mouse, no family make a meal of the meat, consequently no cat would give Whittington his wealth." Foote had not heard, of course, of the vast sums which were made in Paris a few years ago when there was a general cleansing of the sewers, and many millions of rats were destroyed, the skins of which were tanned and made into ladies' gloves, realizing a very large amount of wealth.[r]

[q] Could it be shown in our expected intercourse with China and Japan that there were parts of those countries in which rats were very numerous and cats either unknown, or very scarce, the export of the latter animal to those quarters might not be a bad speculation; and though it might not be the means of realizing a large fortune, it might give some return in cash which, by judicious management, might be improved, and thus become the foundation of an individual's wealth.

[r] *Household Words*, vol. 2, p. 214. The writer in this article, *Rats*, mentions

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But this, by the bye—The sapient knight is made to continue his discourse as follows:—"From whence, then, does this error proceed? Be that my care to point out. The commerce this worthy merchant carried on was confined to our coasts; for this purpose he constructed a vessel which, from its agility and lightness, he christened a cat. Now to this our day, gentlemen, all our coals from Newcastle are imported in nothing but cats; from hence it appears that it was not the whiskered, four-footed, mouse-killing cat that was the source of the magistrate's wealth, but the coasting, sailing, coal-carrying cat—that, gentlemen, was Whittington's cat." One cannot help being surprised that any one should gravely attempt to overturn a tradition so old as that of Richard Whittington, upon the authority of a writer of farces, who flourished in 1752 to 1777, and who undoubtedly, as such, exercised talents so great as to have obtained the name of the English Aristophanes.[s] But then like him whose name he acquired, it was his business to turn everything to ridicule, and he succeeded. Surely no one would quote Aristophanes to settle a disputed point in history. One would as soon look to Punch's *Comic Grammar* to settle a point in grammar, or his *Comic History of England* for an historical fact, as select a writer of farces as evidence on a subject of this sort.

But I must introduce you to one more play writer who has touched upon this subject, and that is Thomas Heywood, who published a play, in 1606, on the life and reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled, "*If you know not me, you know nobody,*" Act 1, scene 1.—Dr. Nowell Dean of St. Pauls, after entertaining at his house his friends

the circumstance of the vast number of these animals which were destroyed in cleansing the sewers at Paris, and gives this curious calculation:—That "one pair of rats, with their progeny, will produce in three years no less than 646,808 rats, which will consume as much food as 64,680 men." No wonder that the King of Barbary, or Guinea, whichever it might have been, to whose country Dick Whittington's puss was sent, should have hailed it as the most valuable acquisition ever introduced to his dominions. That the foundation of a fortune may be laid by such simple means, the author would observe that it is within the sphere of his own knowledge that a poor man made a fair living by catching moles, which were tanned and made into ladies' muffs. Had he been a younger and more adventurous man, who would venture to say that he might not have become a second Whittington!

s Lempriere's *Biographical Dictionary*, (Foote, Samuel).

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Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Thomas and Lady Ramsey, and Hobson, a Haberdasher, introduces them to his Gallery of Pictures, containing the portraits of "good Citizens," some of whose notable deeds he relates to them; when he comes to Whittington the Dean says:—

"This Sir Richard Whittington—three times Mayor, son to a Knight and prentice to a mercer—begun the library of Grey Friars in London. And his executors after him did build Whittington College, thirteen almshouses for poor men, repaired St. Bartholomews in Smithfield, glazed the Guildhall and built Newgate."

Upon which Hobson says, using a quaint kind of expletive in vogue in those days:—

"Bones a me, then I have heard lies,
For I have heard he was a scullion
And raised himself by venture of a cat."

Dr. Nowell replies,

"They did more wrong to the gentleman."

The dean's objection probably refers to the expression of the scullion, for, after all my researches, that incident in the story which relates to his ill-treatment by the cook is the only part which I have not been able in some way, I think, to substantiate; but supposing that it referred to the cat, it is after all only the suggestion of Heywood, the play-writer, who puts these words in the dean's mouth, which were probably the foundation of Foote's scepticism.

Mr. Riley, in his edition of the *Liber Albus*, suggests two solutions of the cat question:—1st, That Whittington made his fortune by *achats*, which was the French name for traffic. 2ndly, That he made it by the coal trade, in the ships called cats, as suggested by Foote.

Now let us examine these two suggestions. In the first place, there would be nothing in the use of the word *achats* to distinguish Whittington from every other pedlar or retail dealer of his day; and I do not use the word pedlar in a ridiculous sense, for it was then the legitimate term of a petty dealer[t] or retail merchant; they *all* made their fortunes by *achats*. Mercery was originally *achats*, or pedlary. See Herbert's *History of the Twelve Companies*. Stow says that "the milloners," or haberdashers, "sold mousetraps, bird cages, shoeing horns, lanthorns, Jews' trumps, &c."

t Todd's Johnson's *Dictionary*. (Pedlar.)

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In the second place, let us take a review of the coal trade; and on this subject we find[v] the first notice of coal, in a payment, in kind, to the Abbey of Peterborough, A.D. 852. viz., "twelve cart loads of fossil, or pit coal." Henry III. granted a charter to the freemen of Newcastle for liberty to dig coals, A.D. 1239. In 1350, towards the end of the reign of Edward I., the merchants and artizans began to use coal, wood becoming scarce. In consequence of an application from the nobility and gentry, a royal proclamation was published against the use of it, as a public nuisance and injurious to the health. A commission was issued to punish those who burnt it, and to destroy the furnaces and kilns.[w] It was not until the latter part of the sixteenth century that the use of coal became pretty general for manufacturing and culinary purposes, but not for domestic fires. Harrison observes, in 1577, that "it crept from the forge into the kitchen and hall." He also says, "an infinite deal of wood hath been destroyed within these few years," and "I dare affirm that if woods do go so fast into decay in the next hundred years of grace as they have done, or are likely to do, in this, it is to be feared that *sea coal* will be good merchandize, even in the City of London." This evidently shows that the coal trade had not been a particularly profitable investment up to *his* time.

We are told also by Gray, in his *Chorographia*, published in 1649, that "the coal trade began not past four score years since," *i.e.* about the year 1560 or 1570; coals in former days being, as he explains, only used for smiths and for burning lime, but "woods decaying and cities and towns growing populous, made the trade increase greatly." At that time Whittington had been dead nearly 150 years. With the strong prejudice against the use of coal, its only partial use at any rate, and with the unrepealed royal proclamation against it, there does not seem much probability of Whittington's having made his fortune by that trade. Besides which, we have no account of merchants travelling out of their own legitimate business in those days, for they were not general merchants, as became the custom at a later date. That

v Memoir Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Northumberland, communicated to the annual meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Newcastle, Aug. 1852, p. 166.

w Evelyn, writing in 1661, proposed to rescue the city from that "hellish cloude."—*Fumifugium*, a curious tract.

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Whittington was a mercer is a known fact; but there is no historical warrant for saying that he dealt in coals—it is a mere surmise from the discovery that vessels, called cats, have, at some period, been used in the coal trade, and therefore it appeared a good guess that such were the means by which our hero made his fortune; and we may say with the old Italian proverb, "*Se non e vero e ben trovato.*"

Now let us inquire a little into the subject of these ships. I cannot find that coal-carrying ships were called cats, in England, at all, so far back as Whittington's[x] time. In Todd's edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*, a cat is said to be a sort of ship,[y] and he quotes Bryant's *Observations on Rowley's Poems*. "There are, (says Bryant), vessels at this day which are common upon the northern part of the English coast, and are called cats; part of the harbour at Plymouth is called Catwater, undoubtedly from ships of this denomination, which were once common in those parts." This note[z] was made about 1778. We now turn to Rees' *Cyclopædia*, to the word *Cat*. He says "cat, in sea language, denotes a ship, formed on the Norwegian model, used by the northern nations of Europe, and *sometimes employed in the English coal trade.*" Mark only *sometimes*. "It has three masts and a bowsprit, rigged like an English ship, having, however, pole masts and no top-gallant sails. The mizen is with a gaff. These vessels usually carry from *four to six hundred tons.*" I appeal to my sea-going friends to say whether a verier tub was ever described. Where is the agility and lightness of the cat so poetically described by Foote? There is very great reason to doubt the use of ships of that burden in Whittington's

x It is singular that in the *Rotuli Normanniæ*, 5 Henry V. 1417, we have the name of almost every kind of ship then in use; that sovereign having had occasion to hire ships in Holland, from his inability to procure sufficient for the transport of his army in England. They are as follows:—Coggeships, Crayeres, Balingeres, Helebotes, Busses, Farecosts, Doggers, Lodeships, or Loldships, Collets, Bargees, Picards, Spinns, Del Skaffs, Niefs de Toure, Passagers, and Navis. To these may be added, from Mr. Riley's introduction to the *Liber Albus*:—Escouts or Scuts, Hoc-scips, Niefs de Scalters, Vessels ove Beilles, Boats en Tholles or Deinz Horlocs, Spindeleres Botes, Mangbotes, and Welkbotes; but *no Cats*.

y Cattæ inter navium appellationes ponuntur a Gellio, lib. 10, c. 25.—Calepini's *Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

z We should be as little disposed to take the authority of the author of *Rowley's Poems* as that of Foote. Bryant, however, believed them to be genuine.

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time, but no reason is there to suppose that Whittington employed them. Dr. Henry[a] says, that the shipping at that time did not increase either in size or number, but the contrary; that the fullest equipment of the largest men-of-war did not contain more than twenty men. Shipping had decreased to such an extent in 1381, when Whittington flourished, that to remedy this evil the first Navigation Act was passed, and Government seized all the English ships and sailors for purposes of war. We find that the ships which were originally used in the coal trade were called keels and hoys, and not cats, and the men who worked them were called keelers. Some one has suggested that Whittington made his fortune by privateering, a suggestion quite unworthy of his high character and the reputation for honor and humanity which he justly enjoyed.

All these circumstances taken together render it very improbable that Whittington made his fortune by a cat of that description, but the possibilities of his having made it by an animal of that name having been already placed before you, we will now go on to see what he did deal in, and this we find from the *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer* to have been wool,[b] and costly dresses, made from that and other materials, for the nobility and royalty of

a Henry's *History of Great Britain*, vol. 8, pp. 354-356.

b To show what Whittington really did trade in we may quote the *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, collected and edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, vol. 2, p. 75:—

6 "M^{d} qđ qued^{a}m obligꝫ conť || ciiii^{xx}.vii.ťi. xvi.š. xđ. oƀ. facť ꝑ Riĉm Whityngton ꝯ Henr. || Londoñ Cives ꝯ Merceres Londoñ Dño Regi ꝯc ꝑ custť r̃ subs̃ div^{s}s *lanarz* ꝯc rem̃ in hanapio de ꝓmino Pasch̃ anno viij° Reg̃ Henr̃ qarto Que quidm obligꝫ liƀat^{r} ꝯc̃ Epō Londoñ Thes̃ Angl † ꝑ ↓ ad m̃ ꝑpr̃ xx die Julii anno viij° "
"liƀ ex^{a}. "Also p. 78:—

3 "Ponder̃ ad tronand *lanas* in Portu Londoñ de novo facť videlt mens̃ Marcii anno x° Reg̃ Henr̃ quarti. T. Tiptot Thes̃ Angl existenť."

"viii Ponder̃ voc̃ q^{a}rt̃iū quodlt ponder̃ xiii. cł.
iii Ponder̃ quodlt ponder̃ ——— viii. cł.
iii Ponder̃ quodlt ponder̃ ——— iiii. cł.
Sm^{a} { pec̃ ——— xxii pond
ponder̃ —— cxlviii. c̃ł đi."

"Que quidm̃ ponder̃ liƀ ant^{r} viii° die Marcii anno r̃ R̃ Henr̃ quarti Riĉo Whityngton ꝯ Johi || Hend custumar̃ R̃ in portu Londoñ unde iidem debent respondeř."

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the land. He appears by the *Issue Rolls*, copies of which will appear in the *Appendix*, to have supplied the wedding trousseau of the Princess Blanche, King Henry the Fourth's eldest daughter, on her marriage with the son of the King of the Romans. And, again, he supplied the wedding dresses, pearls, and cloth of gold, for the marriage of the Princess Phillippa, the King's daughter, Queen of Sweden and Norway, with the King of the Romans. In short, Whittington appears to have been the great Howell and James of his day, dealing in rich dresses and fancy articles, and to have had no dealings whatever in coal that we can discover.

But to connect our hero with the Cat; Malcolm [b] says, "The clerk of the Mercer's Company has, in his apartment at Mercer's Hall, a portrait on canvas, ten inches and a half broad, and twelve inches high, of a man of about sixty years of age, in a fur livery gown and black cap, such as the Yeomen of the Guard now wear. The figure reaches about half the length of the arms from the shoulders; on the left hand of the figure is a black and white *cat*, whose right ear reaches up to the band or broad turning down of the shirt of the figure. On the left upper corner of the canvas is painted in Roman characters, R. Whittington, 1536. The size of the canvas of this portrait has, for some reason, been altered, and the inscription has evidently been painted since the alteration; yet it is hardly to be supposed it was then invented, and if not, it carries the common vulgar opinion of some connection between Whittington and a cat as far back as 1536." This, observe, is only 113 years after Whittington's death, when the tradition of two generations, from father to son, might have readily conveyed a story which none would then be found to dispute. This picture, it seems, does not now exist, though what has become of it I have been unable to learn on inquiry at Mercer's Hall. They have, however, a portrait of our worthy, with a cat, apparently of more modern date, though evidently of some antiquity, but it does not answer the description of the portrait given by Malcolm. The portrait which now adorns the Mercer's Hall has been engraved by Benoist, and illustrates the *New History, Description, and Survey of London*, by William Thornton and others, folio, 1784. There is, however, another portrait of Richard Whittington extant, in an engraving (reproduced especially for this biography, from a copy in my possession,) by

b Malcolm, *Londin. Rediviv.*, vol. 4, p. 515.

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Reginald Elstrack,[c] who flourished in 1590. It professes to be a "*vera effigies*," or *true* likeness of that most illustrious gentleman, Richard Whittington, Knight, and I see no reason to doubt the statement. In this portrait[d] our hero is represented in his robes as Lord Mayor, with a collar of S.S., and his hand resting on a very pretty cat. This again carries back the connection of Whittington with a cat to the times when two generations only might have sufficed to have handed it down. It is recorded in Granger's[e] *History of Engraved Portraits* that the cat was inserted afterwards; that Whittington was represented in the original engraving with his right hand on a skull; but the people generally would not buy the print under those conditions, it did not fall in with the generally received account of the person of whom it assumed to be the portrait, and it was not until the skull was removed, and replaced by the cat, that the artist could get any sale for his work. This entirely silences the suggestion that the story was fabricated to suit the picture—on the contrary we see that the public desired to have the cat inserted, in conformity with the tradition which they had received, and which at that early date was fully accepted. The alteration must have been made at the very earliest opportunity, for the prints with the skull are so rare that Granger had never seen more than two of them.[f] It is said that it is an anachronism to represent him with the collar of S.S. and the Rose[g] and Portcullis. Now we find that the collar of

c Reginald Elstrack was one of the earliest engravers in this country, and his works have now become rare.

d This plate seems to have been preserved for many years, for it has been re-engraved and retouched, as given in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 2.

e *Biographical History of England*, by Rev. J. Granger, 4 vols. 8vo., vol. 1. p. 63. Bromley, *British Portraits*, 4to. p. 11.

f It is not a little singular that one of these engravings with the skull is in the possession of W. J. Phelps, Esq., of Chestal House, near Dursley, the present High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, who possesses a valuable collection of portraits of the worthies of this County.

g The Red Rose, *rosa rubra*, was a common *redditus*, or acknowledgment of property held under the Crown. The Rose appears on the seal of Richard, Duke of York, 1430, (Dallaway's *Heraldic Inquiries*), and quarter rose nobles were the current coin of this realm, commencing with Edward III., and continued down to the successive reigns; it seems, therefore, that this cognizance may be traced even as far back as Edward III.

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S.S.[h] was introduced by Henry the Fourth, in 1407, as his livery; and that the red rose was the distinguishing badge of the Lancaster family, of which Henry IV. was a member; indeed Dallaway says that it was his cognizance. There was in possession of the late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford,[i] a picture of Henry the Fifth and his family, in which appeared the roses and portcullis. Lord Orford, therefore, presumed that it must have been painted in a later reign; this, however, might or might not have been the fact, and it would be difficult to decide, unless we could positively assign a date to the introduction of these ornaments. If, however, Whittington sat for his portrait the year previous to his death, as is very probable, Henry the Sixth had then begun to reign, the known badge of whose family was the Red Rose: but supposing that these were trifling anachronisms, I don't think they would affect the case. Elstrack had to represent Whittington to the public in the robes by which he would be known to them as Lord Mayor of London, such as they were acquainted with. Painting in oil had not been invented above two years at the time when Whittington died. John Van Eyck, the inventor of that art, was then painting in Germany, but it is questionable whether there were any painters in oil at that time in England, and Elstrack may have been obliged to draw somewhat on his fancy, for the embellishments of his portrait; not indeed, for the likeness, for fortunately we do possess a contemporary likeness of him on his death bed, illuminated[k] on the deed of the Ordinances of his Alms Houses, of which I shall have to speak by and bye. Now on comparing Elstrack's print with that drawing, the likeness is as identical as can possibly be, considering the circumstances,—one being represented in health and the other on a death bed. But it is not at all improbable that there had been another original likeness from which Elstrack made his engraving; for John Carpenter, Whittington's noble

h *Promptorium Parvulorum*, published by Camden Society, in Note, p. 87. See also Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, p. 293.

i Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. 1, p. 55.

k Dr. Henry (*History of Great Britain*, vol. 10. p. 213.) says the illuminators of books supplied the place both of historians and portrait painters at that period. They carried their art to great perfection, and give us a view not only of the persons and dresses of our ancestors, but also of their customs, manners, and employments.

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and worthy executor, who caused this very illumination to be made, was, we learn, a great patron of the art, then, for the first time, introduced into England. We read in Stow's[l] *Survey of London*, that "John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London, in the reign of Henry V., caused, with great expences, to be curiously painted upon board, about the North Cloister of St. Paul's, a monument of Death leading all estates, with the speeches of Death and answers of every estate." Is it not then very probable that Carpenter had caused a portrait taken of his dear and excellent friend Whittington, which, doubtless, shared the fate of many other valuable records and specimens of art, in that all devouring element, the great fire of London in 1666.[m]

l Stow's *Survey of London*, vol. 1. p. 261., and Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. 1. p. 71.

m The over zealous promoters of the Reformation are also culpable for the destruction of some of our most valuable historical documents. At the time of the dissolution of the Abbey of Tewkesbury, the records and evidences belonging to the monastery were directed to be left in the treasury there, under the custody of John Whittington, Knight. The houses and buildings assigned to remain undefaced, were also committed to the custody of John Whittington (Bennett's *Hist. of Tewkesbury*, 8vo. 1830, p. 125.) This John Whittington was probably John of Pauntley and Notgrove, who was High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1517; or it might have been John, son of Richard, the direct ancestor of the Whittingtons of Saint Briavels and Hamswell, though I have discovered no other evidence that either of these Johns received the honor of knighthood.

The portions of the monastery deemed to be superfluous were the Church, Chapels, Cloisters, Chapter-house, *Library*, &c. These, too, were committed to Sir John Whittington's custody. How little he cared for the Library is shown in the fact that the greater part of the records belonging to the monastery have been lost. What an unworthy representative of that Whittington to whose suggestions we are indebted for the preservation of the *Records of the City of London*, and the compilation of the *Liber Albus*! Would that there were more Richard Whittingtons and fewer Sir Johns!

Our materials for English history have, at various times, suffered great losses. First, from the way in which, in the time of the Romans, the invaders barbarously endeavoured to destroy all vestiges of the history of the previous inhabitants of the island. Secondly, from the ruthless destruction of the Saxons and Danes. Then, again, in the rebellions of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, there was a wholesale destruction made of every document they could get at. The injudicious promoters of the Reformation next gave another serious blow to our country's evidences. Bale, who was made Bishop of Ossery by Edward VI., and was obliged to fly to Holland on the accession

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There is every indication about the engraving of Elstrack that it was copied from an original. A fancy portrait would undoubtedly have taken pains to represent him in the best light, and would have endeavoured to give him such good looks as a poetic or romantic imagination would have suggested; whereas in Elstrack's portrait there is none of that fictitious attempt at embellishment so amusingly described in Foote's Farce called *Taste*, in which Lady Pentweasel is represented as addressing the artist as follows:—

Lady Pentweasel: "Pray now Mr. Carmine, how do you limners contrive to overlook the ugliness and yet preserve the likeness?"

Mr. Carmine: "The art, Madam, may be conveyed in two words; where nature has been severe, we soften; where she has been kind we aggravate."

Now there has evidently been no such tampering with the subject in the instance of Elstrack's engraving, and we have therefore every reason to believe that it is taken from a genuine and original portrait.

Up to this point we have established two early representations of Whittington in connection with a Cat, we now come to a third. In the *Patent Rolls*, 1, Hen. VI., there is a grant to the Executors of the Will of Richard Whittington, late Citizen and Mercer of London, that they may pull down and build anew the King's Gaol at Newgate, together

of Queen Mary for his opposition to Popery, says "that a greate nombre of them whych purchased those superstycyouse mansyons (*i.e.* the monasteries) reserved of the lybrary bookes some to scoure their candlestycks, and some to rubbe their bootes; some they sold to the grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over see to the bookebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderinge of foren nacyons. Yea, the universities of this realme are not all clere in this detestable fact. I know a merchauntman, whych shall at this tyme be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybrares for forty shillings pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuffe hath he occupied in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these ten yeres, and yet he had store ynough for as many yeres to come; a prodigyouse example is this, and to be abhorred of all men .who love their nacyon as they should do."* It is certainly to be feared that Sir John Whittington either cared less for books than his pocket, or was a more zealous reformer than lover of the history of his country. Lastly, the Great Fire of London deprived us of a vast number of valuable muniments. No wonder, then, that with such serious losses to our nation's records, many of our traditions have nearly passed into fable, and it needs to work them out, bit by bit, by the most careful investigation, and to replace them in their true position.

* Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

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with the gate thereof within the City of London. Now if we turn to Maitland's *History of London*, we find that "the Gate of Newgate being very much damaged by the (great) fire (of London) in 1666, was afterwards strongly rebuilt of stone, and continues to be the county gaol for Middlesex as well as London. The west side of the Gate is adorned with three ranges of pilasters and their entablements, of the Tuscan order. Over the lowest is a circular pediment, and above it the King's arms. The intercolumns are four niches, with as many figures as large as life. One of these, representing liberty, has carved on her hat the word *libertas*, and the figure of a Cat lying at her feet, alluding to the figure of Sir Richard Whittington, a former founder, who is reported to have made the first step to his good fortune by a Cat." Pennant after mentioning the rebuilding of Newgate by Whittington's executors says "*his Statue with the Cat* remained in a niche to its final demolition, on the rebuilding of the present Prison. It was destroyed in the fire of 1666 and rebuilt in its late form." This remark of Pennant would lead us to suppose that the statue with the Cat was placed there by Whittington's own executors, than whom nobody could have known better his connection with a Cat. We have again one more (a fourth) instance to bring before you of a connection of a Cat with Whittington and the Company to which he belonged, and to which he was a great benefactor. By the kindness of Mr. Barnes, the Clerk of the Mercers' Company, I was permitted to see a beautiful piece of gilt plate in the possession of that Honorable Company, consisting of a sort of triumphal wagon, or car, beautifully chased and enamelled, standing on four wheels, and bearing a barrel or tun on the top. It is made to move by clock work, and will run round a table; being one of the earliest specimens of an automaton in this country. In the Archives of the Company it is said to have been given to them by William Burde, who was their Warden in the year 1572. It weighs 201 oz. and is worth 100 marks.[n] It is singular that on this wagon are four medallions in enamel, two on each side; on one of them is the repre-

[n] As the value of the mark was 13s. 4d., this piece of plate must have been worth £66. 13s. 4d. of the currency of that period. I imagine that a goldsmith would ask £300, at least, for a similar article in *our* day. Dr. Henry, vol. 10, p. 272, makes the mark to be equal to £6. 13s. 4d. of our money, if so, this car would be worth £666. 13s. 4d.

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sentation of the blessed Virgin, with a crown, which is the insignia of the Mystery of the Company, on the other are the arms of the City of London, and on the two others are heraldic Cats; while, enamelled in lilac and green, on the stems of two upright figures are rats and birds, the natural food of those animals; doubtless intended to commemorate the Mercers' most distinguished member, Richard Whittington.

Let me then recapitulate the evidences as to the probability of the truth of the story of a cat, and we find them to be as follows:—1st, From the ancient and generally received tradition; 2nd, From the scarcity and value of domestic cats at that period; 3rd, From its not being a solitary instance of a fortune made by such means; 4th, From the ancient portraits and statues of Whittington in connection with a cat, some of which may be reasonably traced up to the times and orders of his own executors.

But some persons may say, why take all this trouble about the cat? The answer is simply this, that the truth or falsehood of our histories and traditions depends upon our being able to confirm them in their minutest particulars by concurrent testimony. History is made up of details, and it is of the greatest importance that those details should be able to stand the test of the closest investigation. Both in sacred and secular history, the sceptic is widely on the alert, anxious to undermine its truth, by loosening its proofs: it is part of their system. If the foundations of secular history can be readily sapped, then those of Scripture history they hope will speedily follow. "Hume, the well-known historian," says Archdeacon Williams,[o] "in preparing the ground for one of his most insiduous attacks upon Christian Revelation, lays it down as an axiom that the evidence in support of any fact, whether occurring in the course of real events or supposed to have been the result of miraculous intervention, must necessarily grow weaker as time advances, and finally be regarded as entitled to little weight when examined by judicious criticism." The Archdeacon most properly combats so monstrous a maxim, and shows that on the contrary "the lapse of time, instead of weakening the evidence of any such fact, has rather in most known cases tended to confirm it, by bringing to light proofs in its support which time, and time alone, could have produced." I would add also, that it requires some one

o *Claudia and Pudens*, by Archdeacon Williams, 8vo., 1858, p. 1.

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willing to give the time and labor necessary for the investigation of the facts, and I believe that such facts are worth investigating, both for their historical and archæological value.

Now in all these instances, unless there was some extraordinary connection between Whittington and a Cat, I do not think so much pains would have been taken to repeat it; and if, as some pretend, his fortune was not made through means of the animal, but by a ship of that name, I think we should have had him represented in his portraits with a ship, and not with a Cat.[p]

But by whatever process it was that Whittington raised himself, rise he did, and became a most distinguished character, as we shall see. We do not know at what date he set up for himself in business, but we find that he was a member of the Mercers' Company in 1392, in which year he was elected both Alderman and Sheriff of the City, and that he had five youths bound apprentice[q] to him. And here we find one of the first instances of his patriotism and obedience to the laws of his country. A law had been passed to prevent the admission of foreign apprentices into the English guilds, as there had been an attempt on the part of foreigners[r] to usurp all the trade of this country, and stringent enactments were required to put a stop to it. Previous wardens had been fined for taking bribes to admit foreigners. Whittington strenuously resisted all overtures of the sort. Bribery and corruption were the order of the day, and from some complaints on this score the Mayor and Sheriffs of London were, A.D. 1391, by virtue of the King's writ, removed and committed to prison, and a *custos civitatis* and new Sheriffs appointed.

p The tradition, indeed, is that the name of the ship by which he made his fortune was called the Unicorn, and not the Cat.

q There appears to have existed almost an absolute necessity that apprentices should be of gentle blood, at least if they were ever to expect to become master tradesmen, for "an enactment was repeatedly promulgated, even so late as 11th Richard II., A.D. 1388, that no serf should, under any circumstances whatsoever, be admitted to the freedom of the city;"* and without the freedom of the city I suspect none could legally carry on a trade on his own account. This, one would think, would be conclusive evidence that Richard Whittington was not himself of low birth, even if we had no other proofs of the respectability of his parentage.

r Henry's *History of Great Britain*, vol. 10, p. 238., and *Middlesex and London*, by Edward Wedlake Brayley, in *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. 10, p. 622, Note.

* Introduction to Riley's edition of the *Liber Albus*, p. 24.

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In the following year, 1392, the king, being pacified by a fine, issued a writ, allowing the citizens to elect their Sheriffs as they were anciently accustomed, notwithstanding any commission to the contrary. Sheriffs were accordingly elected that year by the common hall, composed of the Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and very many commoners from all the wards. It was in the next year to this that Whittington was elected Sheriff.[r] In 1397, 20th Richard II., a writ was issued from the king, appointing Richard Whittington Mayor [s] and escheator in place of Adam Baunne "who had gone the waye of all flesh."[t] Whittington was elected Mayor the year following, and was again elected to that office October 13th, 1406, 8th Henry IV. Ten years afterwards, viz., in 1416, Whittington was elected Member of Parliament for the City

r His election as Sheriff is entered in the *City Records*, September 21st, 1393, 17th Richard II.

s In Wright's edition of Heylin's *Help to English History*, published in 1773, Sir Richard Whittington is named as eighty-sixth Lord Mayor of London in 1397; but this, so far as the title of Lord is concerned, is clearly a mistake, as we find them called simply Mayors for many years after that date. It is very difficult to decide the precise time when the title of Lord was accorded to that dignity. Supposing that in other respects Wright's remark is correct, and supposing also that the office was always an annual one, it would fix the first establishment of the Mayoralty in 1311 which, however, is at variance with other authorities.

In the *Tablet of Memory*, (p. 47) it is said that Whittington was either the first, or one of the first, who was called Lord Mayor: and that the title of Lord was annexed to the office by Richard II. According to Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, the titles of Lord and Right Honorable were granted by Edward III.

t *City Records*, Lib. H. fo. 316. From Sir R. Baker's *Chronicle*:—

17 Richard II.,	1394.	Richard Whittington, Sheriff.
21 Richard II.,	1398.	Sir Richard Whittington, Mayor.
8 Henry IV.,	1407.	Sir Richard Whittington, Mayor.
4 Henry V.,	1417.	*Richd.** Whittington, Sheriff.
7 Henry V.,	1420.	Sir Richard Whittington, Mayor.
		Robt. Whittington, Sheriff.

It is difficult to assign a correct date to the time when Whittington received the honor of knighthood. Sir R. Baker seems to fix it at the time of his first Shrievalty in 1394, but we certainly find him described in Rymer's *Fœdera* as simply Armiger so late as 1403 and 1405.

* This is probably a mistake for Robert, as it was not usual for one who had served the office of Mayor again to serve that of Sheriff.

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of London, and he was again elected Mayor, October 13th, 1419, 7th Henry V. A modern MS. memoir of Whittington in possession of the Mercers' Company says, "The company attended the cavalcade of Whittington, chosen Mayor for the *fourth* time,[v] with eight new banners, eight trumpeters, four pipers, seven nakerers,[w] and furnished eight minstrels for the cavalcade of J. Butler, chosen Sheriff." Notwithstanding this note, it is questionable whether Whittington was Lord Mayor more than three times. Those authors who have so stated have probably erroneously included his shrievalty, or they have reckoned, as one of his mayoralties, the portion of the year in which he was appointed by King Richard II. to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of Adam Baunne. In that sense it is true that he was Lord Mayor four times. His last attendances which are recorded at City meetings were in September, and October, 1422, at the election of the Sheriffs and the Lord Mayor. The following spring brought him to his grave. But, before we touch upon this, let us look at some of those acts by which he has gained a right to a high place in his country's biography; a place far beyond that to which his acquisition of wealth in such an extraordinary manner as that attributed to him, or, indeed, the acquisition of wealth *alone*, acquired by whatever amount of ability or perseverance, would have entitled him. Difficult as it may be to acquire a fortune, that difficulty comparatively ceases when the first step is over; wealth, by judicious management, engenders wealth, as we see in the case of Whittington. The greater difficulty, in a social point of view, is to know how to use the fortune when acquired, and here it is that our hero shines as such a brilliant example.

v Malcolm, *Londin. Rediviv.*, vol. 4. p. 314, says *four* times.

w *Nacaires*, an instrument of music which, though often mentioned by the old poets, both of France and England, it is not certain whether it was an instrument of percussion or a wind instrument. In the *Roman d'Alexandre* it is said—

"*Chascun a porté trompe ou vielle atemprée,*
Nacaires et tabars de grande renommée."

Du Cange describes *Nacara* to be a kind of brazen drum used in cavalry, yet Chaucer names it in company with wind instruments:—

"Pipes, tromps, nakeres, and clariounes,
That in the bataille blowen blody sounes."

Recs' *Cyclopædia.* (Nacaires.)

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I have said that he was a man of enlightenment far in advance of his age, and the first instance of it which I shall give is this. One of the greatest improvements of the last few years, one of the most recent suggestions of humanity, and one of the most approved preventives of that dreadful vice, drunkenness, is that of having drinking fountains in different parts of the metropolis and our large country towns, where the wayfarer may slake his thirst, without being obliged to purchase his draught at the expense of his pocket, or perhaps of his soul. In passing St. Sepulchre's Church in London, a short time since, I could not but notice the neat drinking fountain which adorns the corner of the churchyard, but when I observed upon it the inscription—"This is the first drinking fountain established in the metropolis," or words to that effect, I could not help mentally ejaculating, as the novelists style that process of the mind—"Alas, how transient is fame! Alas, that Richard Whittington's memory should be so soon forgotten!" Friends of humanity, fully and freely as I honor you, and deem your cause one of the highest and noblest, yet candour bids me say that Whittington was long before you in this. Let us turn to that venerable historian Stow, and we shall find that "there was a water conduit, east of the Church, (St. Giles, Cripplegate) which came from Highbury; and that Whittington, the Mayor, caused a 'bosse,'[x] or tap, of water to be made

x It would appear that the water of this fountain was made to issue from a boss, or stud, in the shape of a bear's head, (as our door knockers often represent that of a lion,) which went by the name of Whittington's boss. This emblem was adopted in a singular paper war of satirical repartee, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, between the celebrated grammarians of the day, William Lilye, Robert Aldridge, William Horman, and Robert Whittington. The latter being a man of conceited notions, though undoubtedly of much talent, had supplicated the University of Oxford to grant him the honor of the Laureate, which dignity was solemnly conferred upon him on the 4th of July, 1513, when he was publicly crowned with a wreath of laurel. Upon this he gave himself great airs, and assumed the title of *Proto-vates Anglice*, which provoked the spleen of his fellow grammarians who, unwilling to allow his presumption to pass unnoticed, applied to him, in ridicule, the nickname of Whittington's boss; partly, perhaps, on account of a personal resemblance in feature, or manner, to the animal there represented, and the bearish way in which he behaved towards his contemporaries; or partly, perhaps, on account of the similarity of the name he bore to that of the philanthropic founder of the fountain, with whom, perhaps, in his boastful manner he may have claimed relationship. I cannot, however, find that he belonged to the Gloucester-

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in the church wall. On the bank of the town ditch, he adds, was a spring, arched over with stone by Whittington.[y] But it was not only water which this noble minded man would give freely to the poor; he was an advocate of their rights in other matters, "helping them to right that suffer wrong," in whatever respect it might be. Accordingly

shire family of that name, of whom Sir Richard Whittington undoubtedly was a member, for there is no Robert in the Gloucestershire pedigrees of the date of the poet, who, according to Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, was born at Lichfield. This conceited poet having then been unmercifully attacked by these great wits of the day, retorts upon them, applying to them, in return, the nicknames of Bavius and Mævius, two low satirical poets of the Augustan age, in a Latin satire which he affixed to the door of St. Paul's School, of which, at that time, W. Lilye was master. In the signature to his lines he adopts the soubriquet of *Boss* which they had given him, latinized into *Bossus*. This, not being a word of pure Latinity, provoked more and more the pungent wit of his opponents, and gave them an excellent handle for their punning invectives as follows:—

"Nomine sic Bossus dissecto Bos erit et sus,"

says Lilye, and Horman afterwards:—

"Nomine diviso, Bossus, bos efficit et sus,
Ex junctis Bossus protinus *ursus* erit."

It would seem, according to these critical grammarians, that if the word *boss* were to be translated into Latin by any other than its classical term, *umbo*, it should have been *bossa*, (see Du Cange's *Glossary*, *in loco*) and not *bossus*, and this produced a most caustic epigram from one of these gentlemen:—

"Absolus Agrigentinus ad lectorem.

Quod latet in Bosso, quicunque hæc legeris hospes,
Ne forte ignores, hoc tibi carmen habe.
Urbs est Londinum populis opibusque superba,
Quam supra reliquas Anglia jure colit,
Hic tibi qua portus Belini * est, sculptilis ursa
Rauca ciet scatebris murmura dulcis aquæ.
Nuncupat *hanc* vulgus Boss*am* cognomine, quo nil
Crebrius ore suo grex muliebris habet.
Nomen enim Bossæ crebro volat hinc volat illinc,
Dum furit, et turpis jurgia lingua serit.
Deperit hanc adeo quidam, ut sua nomina mutet
Et dici Boss*um* se patiatur amans.
Nec facit hoc temere, quum sit memorabile dictum
Consimilem semper quærere quenque sui.
Illaque dicatur multa dignissima conjux,

y Malcolm's *Londin. Redivir.*, vol. 3. p. 272.

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we learn from the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, that "one of the last acts of his life, indicating his honesty and public spirit, was his active prosecution of the London brewers for forestalling meat and selling dear ale; for which interference with their proceedings, the brewers were very wroth."[z] From this we should suppose that the brewers had monopolized the sale of meat as well as beer. Our hero, as the poor man's champion, not only procures for the people fresh and wholesome water, but he insists upon it that they shall have cheap and wholesome meat and beer; he uses his magisterial influence for this purpose, and is willing, in the cause of the people, to risk the wrath and abuse of the sturdy John Barleycorns, the brewers and innkeepers of his day. But this is not all, or half all, that good Richard Whittington did. I have spoken of the friends of humanity, and, on the whole, I think we have (with our improvements of prison discipline, with our male and female reformatories, and schools,) some claim to

Ingenio si qua convenit apta viri.
Est Bossus Bossa dignus mihi crede maritus,
Est conjux Bosso Bossaque digna viro.
Aufer de Bosso tantum discrimina vitæ,
Jam melior Bossa non erit ille sua.
Hoc facile et poteris collatis discere Bossis,
Dicere me verum, res tibi testis erit.

Another epigram also followed, representing the bear as baited by dogs:—

"Heus ursus ne es quem video? Sum. Bælua cujus?
Belini. Nomen dicito. Bossus ego
Cur agitat te turba canum? Soleo quia doctos
Lædere. Quid docti commeruere? Nihil.
Ergo cur lædis? Dominæ compulsus amore,
Qua mihi non est ulla dulcior. Invidiæ
Invidia ipsa suo se gladio negat. Ergo
Tu simili fato ne moriare, cave."

It should be remarked that Whittington's boss, mentioned in Stow's *Survey*, was situate at St. Giles, Cripplegate, and not at Billingsgate; but perhaps *Belini portus* is only a general name for London. If there was another at Billingsgate, it only shows the extensive nature of Whittington's good deeds.

The polemics above alluded to are fully noted in Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, fol. p. 21; and the *Antibossicon* is mentioned in the *List of some of the Early Printed Books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, by the Rev. Dr. Maitland. Privately printed, 8vo., London, 1843.

z Cotton MSS., S. Galb., B. 5.

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the name of a philanthropic age; but centuries before a Howard, or a Sir George Paul,[a] rose to set us the example, there was Richard Whittington lending his purse and his influence to better the condition of the poor prisoner, and to raise him in the scale of humanity. He began to rebuild, during his lifetime, the prison of Newgate which we read in the *Patent Rolls* of Henry VII. "was then so small and infected that it occasioned the death of many." The City[b] itself (A.D. 1422), had become alarmed at the pestilence likely to ensue from the overcrowding of prisoners, and it petitioned the king's council for permission to remove the prisoners out of Newgate, in order to rebuild

a To show the state of Gloucester County Prison in 1778-9, when Howard first began his reformation of prison discipline, 400 years after Whittington's time, we may quote Howard's own notes:—

"Oxford Circuit. Gloucestershire County Gaol, Gloucester Castle. No alteration. Eight prisoners died about Christmas, 1778, of small-pox. No proper separation of the sexes, or of the Bridewell prisoners from the rest. From the magistrates' inattention to this most important point, there is the most licentious intercourse; and all the endeavours of the chaplain to promote reformation must necessarily be defeated where the most abandoned are daily encouraging others to vice. Five or six children have lately been born in this gaol. Eleven of the twenty-four felons were fined without any allowance. The clause of the act against spirituous liquors, and the act for preserving the health of the prisoners was not hung up."

"The gaol disease so prevailed that the proportion was three dead of distemper to one executed."

Mr. Howard's first report on this prison says,

"County Gaol, Gloucester Castle.

"Gaoler — Salary none—(*i.e.* his emoluments were derived from selling beer and fees.)

Fees, Debtors	1	0	10
Felons at Assize	0	17	8
Felons at Quarter Sessions ..	0	13	4

"License beer. Prisoners' allowance. Debtors and fines—none. Felons, each a sixpenny loaf in two days. Garnish, 1s. 6d. Surgeon—none, but on applying to a justice. The Castle is also one of the County Bridewells, yet only one court for all the prisoners, one small day room, 12 feet by 11, for men and women felons. The free ward for debtors is 19 feet by 11, which having no window, *part of the plaster wall is broken down for light and air*. The night room (the main) for men felons, though up many stone steps, is close and dark, and the floor is so ruinous that it cannot be washed."

b New Description and Survey of London, by William Thornton and others, fol. 1784.

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that prison, agreeably to the will of Sir Richard Whittington, late Lord Mayor of London, and the petition being granted the work was performed under the inspection of Sir Richard's executors. "This," says a writer quoted in the *Antiquarian Repertory*,[c] "appears from preceding circumstances to have been a most necessary charity, as only eight years before, viz., in 1414, the keepers of Ludgate and Newgate died, and prisoners in the latter prison, to the number of sixty-four, merely from disorders occasioned by improper accommodation and air. His executors, to their great credit, wishing to give full effect to the pious intentions of the deceased, which were, *to administer all possible comfort to those confined*, petitioned Parliament[d] for power to enforce a former legacy of Sir John Pounteney's, which had been withheld in consequence of the fulfilment of this part of Whittington's will."

Newgate is thus described in the quaint language of the time:— "Yat hit was febel over litel, and so contagious of eyre yat hit caused the deth of many men."[e] The new structure, built by Whittington's executors, was that on which they placed his statue with his Cat.[f] Nor does it at all invalidate our theory that M. Thiele, (according to Keightley) says that "there is a carving still to be seen over the east door of Ribe Cathedral, in Jutland, representing a cat and four mice; and a story is told there of a poor sailor who had made his fortune in a similar way by the sale of a cat in a foreign island, whose inhabitants were grievously plagued with mice." But it is not only the prisoner and the oppressed who occupy Whittington's attention, the ignorant and uneducated also come in for a share of his solicitude. One of his most anxious cares was for those who, like himself in his younger days, had lacked that blessing which doubles a man's joys, I may say doubles his existence, viz., the blessing of a good education.

"In 1421[g] Whittington began the foundation of the Library of the Grey Friers Monastery, in Newgate Street. This noble building was

c *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 2, p. 343, &c.

d Henricus Sextus Rex. Pio. Ao. "Thys yere Newgate was new made by Richard Wyttyntone and he dyde the same yere."—*Chron. of Grey Friers*, p. 15.

e Grafton says it was before a most ugly and loathsome prison.

f Even Keightley, in a note, admits that the figure of Whittington, with a Cat in his arms, carved in stone, was over the archway of the old prison that went across Newgate Street. It was taken down, he says, in 1780.

g Stow's *Survey of London*. *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 2. p. 343.

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129 feet long, 31 feet in breadth, entirely ceiled with wainscot, with twenty-eight wainscot desks and eight double settees. The cost of furnishing it with books was £556. 10s., four hundred pounds of which (equal to £4000. of our present money) was subscribed by Whittington. This edifice still remains in tolerable preservation, and forms the north side of the great cloister of Christ's Hospital, having, in two places, an escutcheon, with the arms [h] of Whittington." Pennant says [i] that "in three years it was filled with books, that Whittington contributed £400. and Dr. Thomas Winchelsey, a frier,[k] supplied the rest;" and this, he adds, was "about thirty years before the invention of printing," when of course books must have been proportionately rare [l]

h The arms of Whittington* upon this building and upon the Ordinances of his Hospital are identical with those used by the ancient family of Whittington of Gloucestershire, viz., Azure, a Fess, chequy Or and Azure, and in the right corner of the shield an Annulet Or.

i Pennant's *London*, p. 183.

k The order of the Grey Friers appears to have received the especial patronage of the Mercers. John Twyn, citizen and mercer, gave them the land in the parish of St. Nicholas in the Shambles, where they erected their original building. The foundation of Whittington's Library is thus described in a note to the preface of the *Chronicle of the Grey Friers*, edited by the Camden Society, p. 13, "Anno Domini, M°. cccc° xxj° venerabilis vir Ricardus Wyttyngton, mercer, et maior Lond' incepit novam librariam posuit que primum lapidem fundalem xxj° die Octobris, in festo sancti Hillarionis Abbatis. Et anno sequente ante festum Nativitatis Christi fuit domus erecta et coperta. In tribus annis sequentibus, fuit terrata, dealbata, vitrata, ambonibus scannis et cellatura ornata, et libris instaurata, et expensæ factæ circa prædicta se extendunt ad ccccc,lvj.li. 16s. 8d. de qua summa solvit prædictus Ricardus Whytyngton cccc et residuum solvit Reverendus pater frater Thomas Wynchelsey et amici sui, quorum animabus propicietur Deus."

l The Kings of England were not so well provided with books. Henry V., who had a taste for reading, borrowed several books which were claimed by their owners after his death.—Dr. Henry's *Hist. of Great Brit.*, vol. 10, p. 115.

"The great scarcity and high price of books continued to obstruct the progress of learning. None but great kings, princes, and prelates, universities and monasteries could have libraries, and the libraries of the greatest kings were not equal to those of many private gentlemen or country clergymen in the present age."—Dr. Henry's *Hist. Great Brit.*, vol. 10, p. 115.

* The Arms of the Whittingtons, of Whittington, in Derbyshire, were Sable, a Cross Engrailed Argent between four Pomegranates Or.—Lysons's *Magna Britannia, Derbyshire*, p. cxi. The arms of the Staffordshire and Somersetshire families of the same name will be seen at page 10 of this Memoir.

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and expensive, being all of them manuscripts. By these means, doubtless, Whittington hoped to help on the reformation of the language of his country which, amongst the higher classes at least, had, from the time of William the Conqueror, been that of Norman French, while the lower orders spoke a most barbarous mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Norman. The teaching of French was only left off, and English substituted in its stead, in 1385.

In the extremely interesting *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter*, one of Whittington's executors, published by Mr. Brewer, Secretary of the City of London School, there is given a list of books, belonging to that individual, which gives us a clue to the style of literature with which Whittington probably furnished his library.[m] Stow, says Malcolm, mentions "another library, built by the executors of Richard Whittington, which belonged to Guildhall [n] and the College," and our worthy old author adds that "three cars loaded with books were *borrowed*, but never returned, by Protector Somerset."

Verily there seems to be no end to the good deeds of this good man. "Hungry and ye gave me meat, thirsty and ye gave me drink. Naked and ye clothed me. I was in prison and ye came unto me. Sick and ye visited me," according to his divine master's estimate, appear to have been the rule and guide of his life. We have, therefore, to follow him through all. And now we come to speak of the Hospital

m See *Appendix*.

n This Library was built by Whittington's instructions, for the preservation of City Records, shewing his great value of documents of that description, and that he was probably the first, or one of the first, to make a collection of the Municipal Records which are so important in an historical point of view.

Among the documents relating to the City of London was the celebrated *Liber Albus*, so called, probably, from its having originally had a white vellum binding, in which were entered "laudable customs not written, wont to be observed in the City, and other notable things worthy of remembrance here and there scattered." This book was compiled, as is supposed by Strype, by John Carpenter, who was then Town Clerk, and is dated November 5th, 1419, during the mayoralty of Master * Richard Whyttington, and in the seventh year of the reign of Henry V. It is most probable that this work was executed at Whittington's suggestion.

* Whittington is still called Master; it would therefore appear that he did not receive the honour of knighthood before the termination of his last mayoralty.

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of Saint Bartholomew[o] in Smithfield, which, in accordance with his instructions, his executors repaired. This noble institution was founded by Rayere, in 1102, for the relief of the sick and lame poor; but falling into decay, it became a worthy object of Whittington's thoughts. This, at a time when physicians and surgeons were so scarce, was indeed a most timely aid to the wants of suffering humanity.

In short there seems to have been scarcely any legitimate want of a poor man to which Whittington had not turned his attention, with a view of alleviating his distresses; and surely they who have themselves suffered need ought to know best where the shoe of poverty and affliction pinches. It is not, however, all who will take the pains and interest in them which Whittington took. That passage in the Psalms has always struck me as peculiarly striking and appropriate,—"Blessed is the man that *considereth* the poor and needy." The consideration of their wants, the supply of the right thing at the right time, even if it be only a cup of cold water, is worth double the same gifts when not so immediately required. This was peculiarly Whittington's character, he *considered* the poor and needy, and made their wants his study.

In the midst of these acts of charity it might be supposed that he would have had no means to spare for the embellishment and improvement of the City; far from it, he was one of the first to advance improvements, architectural and otherwise, in the City in which he had acquired his wealth. We find, from Stow, that his executors had instructions for glazing[p] and paving Guildhall. Now this was indeed progress, for at that time few houses were glazed, glass having been but recently introduced, and paving in public buildings was scarcely known; the floors of churches generally remained in their original clay, strewed from time to time with fresh layers of rushes. So high was the king's opinion of Whittington's good judgment and taste with regard to the improvements in the City, that we find the following entry in the *Minutes of the Council* at the Tower of London, 27th May, 3rd Henry V. 1415:—"Item q̃ le dit maire ne face riens en la

o Stow's *Survey of London.*

p Glass was first introduced for glazing windows about 1180. It was imported from the continent at so vast an expense that it was little used, except in royal palaces. It was first manufactured in England in 1557.

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dte citee touch la demolicon d'aucuns lieu ou murs en la dte citee sans l'avis de Whittington," &c.— *Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatræ*, F. iii. f. 145, a contemporary MS. Such was the confidence which King Henry V. placed in this illustrious citizen, that he had no person to whom, for sterling integrity, for taste in architecture, and zeal for improvement, he could better intrust the repair of that noble fabric the Abbey Church at Westminster, the nave of which had been burnt down in a former reign, and had remained in ruins for many years.

The king associated Whittington with Richard Harweden, a monk of the Abbey at Westminster, as commissioner for carrying this noble work into execution; so that we are chiefly indebted to the taste and vigilance of Richard Whittington for that beautiful fane beneath which repose the ashes of so many of the heroes of our country, and in which prayer and praise, (thanks to the Dean and Chapter who have yielded to the general wish of the metropolis for an extension of church accommodation for the lower orders) now rise every Sabbath to the throne of grace from the mouths of thousands. A copy of the original commission to Whittington and Harweden, in Latin, will appear in the *Appendix*.

Neither were his loyalty and liberality towards his sovereign impaired by his wonderful acts of benevolence. The story book tells us that, on the last occasion of his mayoralty, after the conquest of France, he entertained Henry V. and his Queen at Guildhall, in a most splendid manner, when he received from his sovereign the honor of knighthood. The king, in order to carry on the war, had been obliged to contract many debts, for which he had given his bonds. These bonds Whittington had bought up to the amount of sixty thousand pounds, and on the present occasion, while the king was admiring the fire which had been made in the room, in which were burnt several sorts of precious woods, mixed with cinnamon and other spices—not, observe, with offensive sea-borne coal, brought by a swift sailing ship, for that would have destroyed the tale of poor puss,—Whittington took out the king's bonds, threw them into the fire and burnt them; thus, at his own expense, freeing the king from his debts. All were amazed at such a proceeding, and the king exclaimed—"Never had Prince such a subject," to which Whittington courteously replied—"Never had subject such a Prince."

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It has been the fate of this part of the story to meet with the same amount of discredit which has assailed other portions of the history of this renowned man; first, on account of its alleged improbability, and secondly, because a similar story has been related of some other courtier, and of some other prince, in some other country; as though courteous and loyal actions could never be repeated.[q]

But, with regard to the probabilities or improbabilities of the case, let us look to history and to documentary evidence still to be met with. History would lose, I venture to say, half its charms if we were to deprive it of all its romance; it would then present to us nothing but a lot of dry bones, without any marrow in them. Remove, for instance, such incidents as Queen Philippa's intercession for the burghers of Calais, the gallantry of Sir Walter Raleigh, and hundreds of others too numerous to mention, and what does history become? Who has not read, not only in Shakespeare, but in legitimate history also, of the wild pranks of Prince Hal, and who has not been struck with the gravity of deportment and excellent qualities of the same Prince when afterwards he succeeded to the throne of these realms? What Englishman is there who is not proud of that sovereign when he reads the narrative of the battle of Agincourt, with the vast disproportion of the combatants, and who does not rejoice in the chivalrous and heroic bearing of that king. But not less true is the account of the great costliness of that war, and the drain upon England's revenues to defray it; not less true is the account of the resources from which Henry was supplied. Rapin[r] says that "the Parliaments granted a

q It is related, by Stow, of Henry Picard, vintner, who had been Mayor of London, that the King of Cyprus playing with him at dice, Picard won of him fifty marks, which when the king began to take in ill part, although he dissembled the same, Picard said to him, "My Lord and King, be not aggrieved, I covet not your gold but your play; for I have not bid you hither that I might grieve you, but that amongst other things I might try your play, and gave him his money again, plentifully bestowing of his own amongst the retinue, besides which he gave many rich gifts to the king and other nobles and knights which dined with him, to the great glory of the citizens of London of those days." It would be sad to discredit every tale of liberality because it surpasses our own niggardly feelings. O for a more liberal and chivalrous spirit, such as appears to have animated some, at least, of our forefathers!

r Rapin's *Hist. England*, Henry V. p. 518.

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subsidy for carrying on the war, but this aid was so little proportioned to his wants and projects that he was forced to pawn his crown to the Bishop of Winchester, his uncle, for 100,000 marks, and part of his jewels to the city of London[s] for £10,000 sterling." He goes on to say—"The war continuing, as the supply granted him by the Parliament was not sufficient for his purpose, and as money came slowly into the exchequer, he was quickly in great want." "To supply the present occasion he pawned the rest of his jewels, with letters under the great seal, empowering his creditors to sell them if the money was not paid within such a time. The term allowed was twelve or eighteen months, according as creditors were more or less tractable. By this means he gained time for the payment of his troops, which was a great convenience, as he could reimburse his creditors according as the money came into the treasury, without being obliged to pay all at once. People were so well satisfied of his sincerity that they made no scruple to serve him or lend him money upon such securities as would have been little worth under a prince of less probity."[t] Here we have good evidence of the fact of Henry's borrowing to a large extent—of the probability of the story of the bonds—of the attachment of the people to him—and of the nobleness and honorable integrity of his character; and we find also that it was from the *citizens* of London that he raised his loans. Now let us learn who these citizens of London were. In Rymer's *Fœdera*[v] we find that, on one occasion, John Norbury, John Hende, Richard Whittington,[w] and several others, advanced large sums to the king

s Mathew Paris, p. 501.

t A great contrast between him and Richard II.

v Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. 8. p. 488. Henry's *Hist. Great Brit.* vol. 10, p. 254.

w In confirmation of this we find in the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England the following minutes:—

Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra, F. iii. f. 73.—Minutes of the Council respecting the defence of Guienne, Calais, the Marches of Scotland, Ireland, and of the wages of the soldiers in Wales, probably in the 7th or 8th Henry IV.

La XV^e p estimacõn s'amonte à xxxvj^m li.

Dont sur les gages des souldeours des chastel & ville de Caleys des deniers appromptez de Richard Whityngton & autres, &c. &c. } M^l M^l. li.

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upon the security of the revenues. Whittington's share on that occasion amounted to £1000. which, according to Dr. Henry's method of calculation, would equal £10,000 of our present currency. We have only to supply Whittington's well-known liberality to fill up the probabilities as to the destruction of the bonds. The merchants also of the Staple which was then held at Calais, and of which Whittington was rector, or mayor, were among those who lent money to the king. (For Whittington's loans to Henry IV. and Henry V. see *Appendix.)*

The way in which he could best serve his country was by these advances to the Crown; for he was eminently a man of business, but no soldier. He stuck to his trade, and his influence with the king exempted him from personal service in the wars, to which he would otherwise have been liable, for we find that in the 1st Henry IV. letters of the Privy Seal were issued that every person holding a fee under the king should present himself with all haste to do service in the Marches of Scotland. But in a Council held on the 15th June, 1400, certain persons were excused from this service, and exempted from the penalties which would be incurred by non-attendance: among others Richard Whityngton.[x]

Perhaps we think we have come to an end of the good deeds of this worthy man. Not at all. His care extended not only to men's bodies, but to their souls, and a Church must be added to the number of his benevolent acts; and not only a Church, but a staff of Clergy, with funds for their maintenance. Malcolm says—"The celebrated Sir Richard Whittington, at *four* different periods Lord Mayor of London, rebuilt the Church of Saint Michael," afterwards called Saint Michael

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Itm̃ sur les gages des souldeours de Gales
Et pur continuer les garnisons illeoques tanq̃ autr̃ ordenance y soit faite
} Appromptez de Whityngton & Hende, M^{l} vj^{c} lxvj. ℔. xiij s̃. iiij d.

Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra, F. iii. f. 896, contemporary MS. 11 Hen. IV., 1410.

Les sommes creances pur la sauve garde du paiis de Gales pur un quartier & demy. Inter alios—

D Johan Hende, M^{l} marcs.
D Richard Whityngtoñ, iij^{c} xxxiij. ℔. vj. s̃. viij. d.

x Bibl. Cotton. Vespasian, F. vii., f. 73, contemporary MS.

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Paternoster, in the Royal,[y] "in which he founded a College, consisting of four Fellows (Masters of Arts), Clerks, Conducts, and Choristers, who were governed by a Master, on whom he bestowed the rights and profits of the Church, in addition to his salary of ten marks. To the Chaplains he gave eleven marks each; to the First Clerk eight; to the Second Clerk seven and a half; and to the Choristers five marks per annum each. One of the duties of the recipients of this charity was to pray for the good estate of Richard Whittington [z] and Alice, his wife, their founders, and for Sir William Whittington, Knight, and Dame Joan, his wife, and for Sir Hugh Fitzwarren and Dame Molda, his wife, fathers and mothers of the said Richard Whittington and Alice, his wife; for King Richard the Second, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, special lords and promoters of the said Richard Whittington, &c." He also built the Chapel annexed to Guildhall. The original license for the foundation of his College was procured by Whittington in 1400 (2nd Henry IV.); and the following year the Mayor and commonalty of London granted him a vacant piece of ground for the building of his College, in the Royal, which was afterwards fully confirmed to his executors by Henry VI., for Whittington himself unfortunately died before its completion.

One can scarcely help thinking that a man so much before his day in charitable and religious matters, as well as in secular affairs, must have imbibed, even if imperceptibly, some of the enlightened religious views which were then making so much stir in England, under the preaching of Wickliff, the great reformer of religion, at a period when the state of the church was at the lowest ebb of darkness. Although we have no ground for supposing that he had actually embraced Wickliff's views, yet, if we may judge from Fox's *Martyrs*,[a] the doctrines of that great reformer had taken deep root among the citizens of London. In the very year (1393) in which Whittington was elected Sheriff, Fox says,

[y] *Londin. Rediviv.*, vol. 4, p. 514-515.

"Quam præfatus Ricardus *in vitâ suâ* funditus et notabiliter inchoavit."—*Charter of Foundation* in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

The Royal was originally called the Tower Royal, and afterwards the Queen's Wardrobe.

[z] See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Bohn's edition, vol. 7, p. 746.—*Charter of Foundation*.

[a] Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. 1, p. 570, fol., 1641.

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that the Bishop of Salisbury and Archbishop of York, with a "grievous complaint went to the king, complaining of the maior and sheriffes of London. What trespasse the maior and sheriffes had done, as ye have heard before, so may you judge." It was this—that they were "*male creduli in Deum et traditiones avitas; Lollardorum sustentores, religiosorum detractores, decimarum detentores, et communis vulgi depauperatores.*" How false this charge of defrauding the poor was (so far at least as Whittington was concerned) is shown by his life and actions.[b] Nevertheless, he doubtless had his enemies amongst the ecclesiastics of his day; his very notions of civil reform would be obnoxious to men of their stamp, and they would be ready enough to accuse him of malpractices. Fox then goes on to say, "The king incensed, not a little with the complaint of the bishops, conceived eftsoons (*i.e.* soon afterwards) against the mayor and sheriffs, and against the whole citie of London, a great stomacke, insomuch that the mayor and both the sheriffs were removed from their office, and the king removed the courts from London to York, to the great decay of the former citie." Richard II., however, must have found out his mistake as to Whittington's character as we find that he appointed him Mayor in 1397.

Rapin attributes the King's wrath to another source, namely, the refusal of the Mayor and citizens to advance the money which he required. The Reformation, meanwhile, under Wickliff's teaching, was making steady progress. The Bible was translated into the English tongue, and whether Whittington actually professed Wickliff's doctrines or not, it is not improbable that they had an influence on his life and character.

In Dr. Stronge's *Heraldry of Herefordshire* it is stated, under the name of Whittington, that Sir Richard Whittington was Lord Mayor of London in the years 1397, 1406, and 1419, and also was knighted by King Henry V., and had a grant of the Manor of Solers Hope, in Herefordshire. There must evidently be some error in the statement; for the Manor of Solers Hope had been in the family for many generations previously; and even supposing it to have been forfeited to the King by the outlawry of Sir William Whytyngton, and conferred upon Richard

b In the *Charter of Foundation* of his College, his liberality to the poor is expressly mentioned in the following words:—"Cujus manus dum vixerat ad egenos et pauperes liberaliter et largiter sunt extensæ."—Dugdale's *Monasticon.*

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as an act of Royal favor, we should undoubtedly have discovered traces, either in the *Inquisitiones post mortem*, or in Richard Whittington's will, of his having possessed such property; but there is no trace whatever of his having been a landed proprietor at all, except of a very small property near London. On the contrary, we find that Solers Hope continued in the possession of his elder brother Robert and passed from him to his son Guy. In the *Harleian MSS.*, 6596., Sir Richard Whittington is said to have built the Church at Solers Hope; if so, it would be the third instance of the dedication of a place of worship to Almighty God by that pious and munificent man; but a visit to that place inclines me to think that this also is an error, and that Richard, in this instance, as well as in the former, has been mistaken for Robert. The Church of Solers Hope is a comparatively plain and humble structure, by no means to be compared with the other noble deeds of Richard Whittington. Remains of ancient stained glass are still to be seen in the windows; and the arms of Whittington, quartering those of Staunton, may be discovered in the south window of the chancel, but in such a mutilated condition that, unless some one should take a speedy interest in their restoration, they will soon be reckoned among the things of the past. These were probably the arms of the founder of the Church, and, if so, they point to Robert or Guy Whittington, and not to Sir Richard who would clearly have had no right to quarter the arms of Staunton. There are still some scanty remains of the old Manor House of the Whittingtons at this place, the most prominent feature of which is a chimney stack, supporting a double ornamental twisted mediæval brick chimney, of the character of those which adorn the Castle at Thornbury. It is very evident, however, that both the estate and mansion were very inferior in attractions to those of Pauntley, which was undoubtedly the chief residence of the family. At the back of the mansion are traces of a lofty mound which had once been surrounded by a moat; this was probably the site of the original castle or keep of the De Solers family.

Among the numerous benefactions of this worthy man, it would be natural to suppose that he did not entirely overlook the requirements of his own County; and it is satisfactory to find the armorial bearings of Whittington and Fitzwarren emblazoned in our Cathedral among those of other founders and benefactors of that noble edifice. These

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arms appear on the altar in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary, otherwise called Abbot Boteler's[c] Chapel, in which is placed the effigy of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy; from which circumstance we are led to suppose that Whittington, and the Fitzwarrens perhaps, through his influence, had been contributors towards the erection of that once beautiful altar, and not improbably of other parts of the Cathedral also. Thus we observe, that Whittington was not one of those persons who having made their money, know not how to spend it; or having no further enjoyment to expect from it in life, are ready to give away in charity what they can hold no longer; hoping to derive some undefined benefit to their souls hereafter, from bequeathing on their death bed that which they would have grudged in the hour of health and strength. Whittington was altogether a different character. Desirous of knowing how his money was laid out in works of charity, he would see to its expenditure himself, and would not leave to be done by others that which he knew must be a responsible,[d] and ought to be a pleasurable office. He laid himself out for that pleasure, and he had a right to the enjoyment. We will give his own words:—"The fervent desire and besy intention of a prudent, wise, and devout man shal be to cast before and make seure the state and the ende of this short life with dedys of mercy and pite, and specially to provide for those miserable persones whom the penurie of poverty insulteth, and to whom the power of seeking the necessaries of life by art or bodily labour is interdicted."[e] In short, he left nothing undone of all the great deeds which he designed, except those in the midst of which sickness overtook him—that last fatal sickness which must overtake the good as well as the evil; but here is the difference, that while with the one, all is confusion and dismay, with the other, all is order and regularity, evidencing calmness, combined with method. The good man is not afraid to die; he has been living the whole of his life for no other purpose.

c So called because Abbot Reginald Boulars, Boteler, or Butler, who was Abbot of the Abbey of Gloucester in 1437, was buried there.

d The large discretionary powers which testators in those times were accustomed to vest in their executors must have frequently been productive of a considerable amount of labour and responsibility.—Brewer's *Life and Times of John Carpenter*, p. 24.

e *Charter of Foundation of Whittington's College.*—Dugdale's *Monasticon.*

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"Teach me to live that I may dread
The grave as little as my bed,"

appears to have been Whittington's ruling principle.

We might have imagined that if certain events of Whittington's life appeared to involve a question as to their reality, it would be more difficult to speak on the subject of his death bed; but that which no written history gives us is supplied, in the most feeling manner, in a drawing executed immediately after his death, by order of those able and excellent men to whom he had consigned the important task of carrying out the instructions of his will. Although we are not much acquainted with the excellencies of his other executors, yet no one need any longer be ignorant of the high and noble character of his *chief* executor, John Carpenter, the illustrious Town Clerk of London, since his *Life and Times* have been so ably illustrated by Mr. Brewer, the Secretary of the City of London School; the very school which was founded by that worthy citizen who desired nothing better than to tread in the steps of his illustrious friend Richard Whittington. How zealously he carried out his friend's instructions is there so admirably set forth, and how well he imitated his friend's example is so clearly delineated, that I need only advert to those points which are necessary to complete the history of our hero. Besides Carpenter, Whittington's other executors were John Coventre,[f] Alderman; John White,[g] Clerk; and William Grove. The drawing here introduced, which represents the death bed of Whittington, is an illumination upon the Ordinances, or rules, for the foundation and regulation of his College.[h] In the centre of the picture is seen Whittington, stretched on a tester bed, his body naked[i] and

f Coventre was Sheriff of London, 1417, and Lord Mayor, 1425; he died on Easter Monday, 13th April, 1429, and was buried in Bow Church. White died about 1424.

g John White was the first minister of the Church of Saint Michael, Paternoster, endowed by Whittington. See *Cal. Inq. post mort.*, 11th Henry IV., No. 48, p. 361.

Ricūs Whytington et Henr' London et alii. Dederunt Joh̄i White persone eccl̄ Sc̄i Mich'is in Paternoster Churche (London) quandam parcellam tr̄e in poch' ibm̄.

h This illumination is considered by Mr. Brewer as the representation of an actual scene, which I see no reason at all to doubt. There is every appearance of truth about it.

i This is a true representation of the facts of the case, for Strutt remarks that

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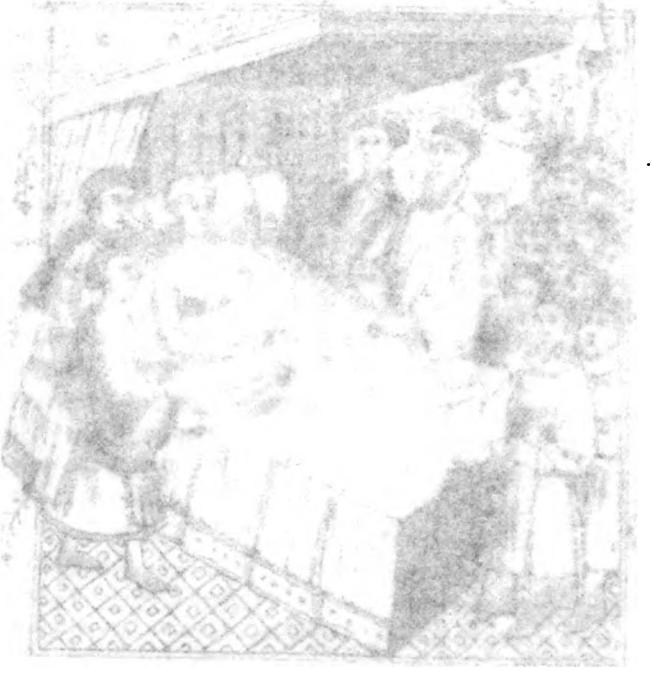

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WHITTINGTON ON HIS DEATH BED.

Copied from the Ordinances of his College.

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emaciated with sickness; he has a night cap on his head, of the same shape as those still worn by gentlemen, (when they wear any at all,) and he is supported by a short pillow and a longer pillow, or bolster. His bedside is surrounded by his executors, whom there is no mistaking, for, according to the custom of early paintings and illuminations, their names are written on their robes, and the likenesses are doubtless original. White's name alone is absent, but his clerical robe and tonsure supply the defect. Grove is a man of considerable stature, of grave and venerable aspect, with a goodly beard, inclining to grey, his hands apparently lifted in the attitude of offering counsel, or, more probably, of approval of the suggestion of the dying man who describes with the finger of his right hand against his left arm, with as much emphasis as his failing breath will allow, how his wishes on certain points are to be carried out.[k] Coventre stands at the bed's head, on the right hand side, in the attitude of the greatest attention, the curtain being drawn aside on purpose, and his head bent forward towards the pillow that he may catch every whisper of his dying friend. On Whittington's left, occupying a prominent feature of the back ground, is a man in the habit of a lay brother, who is doubtless the physician (medicine having been the study of the monks of those days); with his left hand he appears to be reaching down a bottle of medicine, and holding it up to the light, or shaking it, that the ingredients may be well mixed. The rest of the group is formed of twelve bedesmen, recipients of this pious man's charities;

in those days, and until Henry the Eighth's time, people wore no garments in bed, either male or female.—Strutt, vol. II., p. 335.

Mr. Riley, in his Introduction to the *Liber Albus*, says that "night gowns, or night shirts, *were* in use in those days, and that it was not by any means *universally* the fashion in the middle ages, as antiquarians have asserted, to tumble into bed in a state of nudity." This contemporary illumination, however, wonderfully bears out what Strutt and other antiquaries have asserted, and clearly shows what the *general* custom was; for no one would pretend to say that Richard Whittington, thrice, if not four times, Lord Mayor of London, and money lender to the Crown, could not afford a night gown, if he wished to have one; for if *he* could not afford one, who else could? It clearly was not the fashion, however singular it may appear to our notions of cleanliness, decency, or propriety.

k Directions for the completion of his College, and the prison at Newgate, doubtless formed the subject of his instructions. It is interesting also to to find,

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the foremost[l] of them carries in his right hand a rosary, and in his left a staff; the sorrow depicted on the countenances of this group is as well expressed as so minute an illumination will admit. One is inclined, on looking on this picture, to utter the exclamation, "let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." The drawing bears the strictest examination of a powerful magnifying glass, when the character of each individual comes out with very striking effect, especially that of John Carpenter, small in stature, (bearing out his soubriquet of Jenkin, or little John) active, zealous, with his hands stretched out, evidently full of admiration of his friend's munificent disposal of his worldly substance, and fully purposed, as far as he is concerned, to discharge faithfully the trust reposed in him. The tapestry of the room, the worked border of counterpane, the marquetrie of the floor, are all indications of the wealth of the proprietor of such a chamber. According to the desire expressed in his will, his body was buried by his executors in that Church, St. Michaels, Paternoster, to which he had been so liberal a benefactor, and in which his wife had been previously buried. Here, until destroyed by the Great Fire of London, his monument might have been seen, and thanks to worthy old Stow, his Epitaph has been preserved to us as follows:—

"Ut fragrans nardus
Famâ fuit iste Richardus
Albificans Villam,[m]
Qui juste rexerat illam,
Flos mercatorum,
Fundator presbyterorum,
Sic et egenorum,
Testis sit certus eorum;
Omnibus exemplum,
Barathrum vincendo morosum;[n]

that the drinking fountain at Billingsgate, alluded to in the Note at p. 54 of this Memoir, must have entered into the number of the objects left to be completed by his executors, for we find that it was erected by them according to his orders. See Peter Cunningham's *London*.

l This is supposed by Strype to be Robert Chesterton, the first tutor of the Alms House.—See also Dugdales *Monasticon*, Bohn's Edition, *Charter of Foundation*, p. 744.

m "Albificans Villam" is a play upon the name of Whiting—ton, or town.

n "Overcoming the sad gulf" may either signify (1) his having raised himself from poverty to riches, or it may mean (2) his bridging over the difference between

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Condidit hoc templum
Michaelis quam speciosum, -
Regia spes et pres [o]
Divinis res rata turbis;[p]
Pauperibus pater,
Et Major qui fuit urbis;
Martius hunc vicit, [q]
En annos gens tibi dicet,[r]

rich and poor by his acts of charity, or it may mean (3) his overcoming all sordid and selfish feelings by which those are too often actuated who raise themselves from poverty to affluence, Or if *barathrum* be taken as an old monkish Latin word for *barter*,* it may signify (4) the liberal views which he introduced into trade, raising it from mere pedlary into legitimate commerce, and discarding all illicit traffic, especially alluding to that almost last act of his public life, compelling the adoption by the brewers of a more honest and liberal mode of dealing. (See page 54.)

See Rees' *Encyclopædia*, under *Barathrum*. "The *Barathrum*, among the ancient Athenians, was a dark noisome hole, having spikes at the the top to prevent any escape, and others at the bottom to pierce and lacerate the offender. From its depth and capaciousness, the name came to be used proverbially for a miser, or glutton, always craving, in which sense the word is used among the Latin poets. Thus, Horace, *Epist.* Lib. I., Ep. xv., v. 631.—

"Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque Marcelli
Quicquid quæsierat ventri donaret avaro."

o "Regia spes et pres," *i. e.* præs. *Præs*, (1) a surety in a money matter, one who engageth for another, *especially to the public*, and upon his default to make it good. (2) A real security by bond or mortgage.—Ainsworth's *Latin Dictionary*, 4to., 1756. How entirely this bears out the history of his advances to the crown.

p "Divinis res rata turbis." His suretyship to his earthly king is held to be his surety for the rewards of his heavenly king.

q By the *Charter of Foundation* of his Hospital, the day of his death was to be observed the $\frac{23}{24}$ March.

r By this it would appear that his exact age was unknown to his executors, by whom his monument was erected. In the Whittington Pedigree, given at the end of this Memoir, and also in the Table, facing page 18, showing the connection between the Whittingtons and the Berkeleys of Cubberley, an accidental error in the misplacement of a single figure in the date of the death of Sir William de Whytyngton, our hero's father, viz. 1350 instead of 1360, only discovered since the printing off of the earlier sheets, having led to an erroneous calculation on the subject of Richard Whittington's age, I take this opportunity of correcting it; for although it does not make any great difference as to the theory of his early history,

* (See Du Cange's *Glossary*, under *baratrum*. (*Barrattare*, Italian.)

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Finiit ipse dies,[s]
Sis sibi Christe quies. Amen.
Ejus sponsa pia generosa Sophia,[t]
Jungitur, &c."

Sweet as the spikenard's odours rise
In fragrant columns to the skies,
So sweet and fragrantly we see
Ascend this Richard's memory.
He loved that city to adorn
Whose dignities he'd nobly worn:
A model merchant prince was he,
Of high souled liberality.
Aid of the poor—to all and each,
Full much may his example teach.
Minding the Scriptures' high command,
All sordid selfishness he spurned;
Spent fortune gen'rously to raise
St. Michael's Church for prayer and praise.
One bitter day of March cut down
This true supporter of the crown,
This City's Mayor, the poor man's stay,
Was snatched from earth in one short day.
His family his earthly years shall count,
His soul to God's high host above shall mount.
Richard, on all, thy bounties thou didst pour,
Christ be thy spirit's rest for evermore. Amen. A. E. L.

yet it destroys the presumption that he might have been a posthumous son, while it establishes the fact that he was undoubtedly very young at the time of his father's death, probably under two years old; at the same time it will fix his age, at the time of his death, to have been between 63 and 65, instead of 73, as I had before assumed. It has also been suggested to me, since the Pedigrees were printed, that Sir Thomas de Berkeley was the first and not the second husband of Richard Whittington's mother. This again makes very little or no difference to the main facts of the Biography. Thomas de Berkeley was living and High Sheriff of the County in 1351, and undoubtedly completed his year of office; he could not therefore have died before 1352, which leaves but little time for his widow to have married again, and to have had a second family of five, if not more, children, between that date and 1360, the period of Sir William de Whytyngton's death. Nevertheless the fact of her being still called Johanna uxor Willi. de Whitynglon, in the *Inquis. post mort.*, 46 Ed. III., rather favors the suggestion.

s From this we should conclude that his last illness was of short duration.

t Not that his wife's name was Sophia, but wise and prudent is here meant; we know from his own will and ordinances that his wife's name was Alice.

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It would appear as if a man so uncommon in life must have something also out of the common in his burial. Stow says that "his body was *three* times buried in his own church: first by his executors under a faire monument; then, in the raigne of Edward VI., the Parson of the churche thinking some great riches, as he said, to be buried with him, caused his monument to be broken, his body to be spoiled of his leaden sheet, and again the second time to be buried; and in the raigne of Queen Mary the parishioners were forced to take him up and lap him in lead as before, to bury him the third time, and to place his monument or the like over him again."[v]

We are not informed of the date of Whittington's marriage, or how many years he and his wife lived together in connubial happiness, but we are informed by his will, and by the ordinances of his Alms Houses, that his wife's name was Alice Fitzwarren, daughter of Sir Hugh Fitzwarren[w] and Dame Molde, or Matilda, his wife; thus

v Sir Anthony Munday mentions this monument as a "goodly plain tomb in the chancel, with new banners to adorn it, very lately hung up."

w Sir Hugh Fitzwarren, or Yvon Fitzwarren, was of Torrington, in Devonshire.—*Calend. Inquis. post mort.*, vol. 3, pp. 107—141.

Lady Fitzwarren's mother was Anne, or Agnes, daughter and heir of —— Beresford. She was three times married—first, to John de Argentine; second, to John de Nerford; and third, to Lord Maltravers. It is not clear by which marriage she became mother of Lady Fitzwarren; but by her Will, dated 18th Feb., 1374-5, she leaves a bequest to Yvon Fitzwarren and Dame Maud his wife, *my* daughter.—Nicholas's *Testamenta Vestusta*, vol. 1, p. 917.

The Fitzwarrens also had considerable possessions in Gloucestershire. Fulk Fitzwarren possessed Alveston, Gloucestershire, 15 Edw. I.; his son, Fulk, possessed it, 16 Edw. II., and his widow possessed it in dower, and it continued in the family till 1 Richard II. William Fitzwarren possessed the Manor and Advowson of Rodmarton, Gloucestershire, 19 Henry VI. The Fitzwarrens came over with William the Conqueror, and were most nobly allied; they possessed property in many counties in England. Sir Robert Atkyns says—"King William the Conqueror gave the Manor of Aleston, *i. e.* Olveston, to Gwarine de Meez, descended from the house of Loraine. He married Millet, one of the daughters of Pain Peverell, Lord of Whitington, in Shropshire; which Lord had declared that whosoever behaved himself with the greatest courage at tilts, at the Castle of Peake, in Derbyshire, should wed his daughter; whereupon this Gwarine meets at the place, and having there vanquished a son of the King of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgoyne, gained her for his wife. Fulk, the son of Gwarine, succeeded him in

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establishing the nursery tales, at least in this particular. There is every probability that this lady left him a widower several years before his own death. The other persons named in Whittington's Ordinances are his own father and mother, Sir William de Whytyngton, Knight, and Dame Joan his wife; thus clearly identifying his parentage and his pedigree. At the same time, his mention of his mother shews that, whatever might have been his feelings with regard to her at one time, his wrongs, real or imaginary, had passed into oblivion in her grave. Whittington appears to have died in the month of March,[x] 1423, (the cutting winds of which, according to his epitaph, were too cold for him,) having lived during the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. No children appear to have blessed his union, and therefore he was free to bestow the riches accumulated by his own prudence in the way which might please his own taste. No mention is made in his will of his elder brother, but we learn from an ancient memorandum, kindly supplied to me by Clement Bush, Esq., descended from the Whittingtons in the female

his estate. It is remarkable of this Fulk, playing at chess with King John, the King broke his head with a chess-board; but Fulk returned the blow, and almost killed the King. He was succeeded by his son, Fulk, who was slain at the battle of Lewis, 48 Henry III. This family obtained the name of Fitzwarine, from Warine their ancestor, who came in with the Conqueror."

In *Rowe Mores Nomina et Insignia Gentilitia Nobilium Equitumque sub Edoardo primo rege militantium*, the Arms of Fitzwarren are described as—"Quartile de Argent e de goules endente." And elsewhere as—"Quartile de Argent e de Sable." See also Notes * and ‖ to page 17 of this work.

x The *Charter of Foundation* of his Hospital provides that the day of his decease shall be celebrated the 23rd or 24th day of March, and that of Alice, his wife, the last, or last day but one, of July, in every year; and on each of those occasions, the Master shall have 20d., the Chaplains shall have 12d., each Clerk 6d., each Chorister 3d. In the reign of Edward VI. the Mercers' Company kept a memorial of his death by a feast, of which the following furnishes an account:—"Paide yerely for the obitte of Master Whittington, for spicest brede, with the spices, and whyte bunes and butter, with other thinges thereto appertyning, xlis. viiid. For perres, apples, pyskettes, chese, ale and wyne, and the butteler's fee, with other things, xxviiis. viiid. For waxe and ringing of bells, iis. To the poor men for to offer, xiiid. To the Lord Maior of London, vjs. viiid. To the three Wardens of the Mercers, iij li, and to the Rent Warden, xls. To the Clarke of the Mercer, vis. viiid. And as for the Prestes and Clarkes, we never paid none.—ixli. vjs. ijd."

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line, that Richard Whittington gave to his brother "Robert Lord of of Pauntley and his heires a Collour of SS, three dosn. of Sylver Cupps with Covers: the on dos'. gilt, the other pcell gilt, the third whyte. Three basons and Ewres, 3 nests of Bowles, three flagons and three Lyverye potts all of the same sorte."

If it was a fact that these gifts were really made, it must have been during Richard Whittington's life time and also towards its close, for it is scarcely probable that he would have given away his decoration or badge of office, as long as there was any probability of his requiring the use of it, or of his plate either; as we know that services of plate were not over extensive in those days.

It is clear from the illumination which represents his death-bed, that none of his family were present on that solemn occasion. As his brother Robert was in possession of the family estates, and his nephew Guy would, in the course of events, succeed him in his property, he probably saw no necessity to make further provision for them. We find a Robert Whittington,[y] a citizen of London, raised to the Shrievalty in 1416, and again in 1419, the year of Sir Richard's last Mayoralty, and a Henry Whittington,[z] who, after serving an apprenticeship to one Richard Aylmer, in 1434, was admitted as a member of the Mercers' Company. We do not, however, find mention made of any Robert or Henry in the family pedigrees at all corresponding with these individuals. It is evident that Richard Whittington was not a man to leave things to be done after his death, any more than he could avoid; he wished to see the fruits of his own liberality, and therefore having probably done what he thought requisite for his relatives during his life time, there would be no occasion to remember them again in his will, which is short and simple, and contains but few clauses.

The bulk of his property he left to his executors, to be laid out in purposes of charity, leaving the disposal of it to their good judgment, after having explained on his death bed the principal objects on which he desired it to be bestowed—chiefly in completing those works which had been commenced under his own superintendence, in his

y Stow.

z Record in the Mercer's Company.

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life time.[a] Always mindful of the poor, there is still a thought of them continued to the last. He provides for the gift of a penny, nearly equal to a shilling of our day, to every man, woman, and child, on the day of his funeral; whether it was every man, woman, and child in the parish, or every man, woman, and child attending his funeral, we are not told.

Before I conclude, you would perhaps like to know something of the house in which Whittington lived. A description of it, as then standing, is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for July, 1796, vol. 66, part II., page 545, with an engraving. "It is situate in Hart Street, four houses from Mark Lane, up a gateway." "It is expressed," says this writer, "in the old leases as Whittington's palace, and the appearance, especially external, warrants a probability of the truth. It forms three parts of a square, but from time and ill usage its original shape is much altered.. Under the windows of the first story, are carved in *basso relievo*, the arms of the twelve companies of London, except one, which is destroyed to make way for a cistern. The wings are supported by rude carved figures, expressing Satyrs, and from its situation near the church, it is probable it has been a manor house. The principal room has the remains of grandeur; it is about 25 feet long, 15 broad, and 10 high. The ceiling is elegantly carved in fancied compartments; the wainscot is about 6 feet high, and carved, over which is a continuation of Saxon arches in *basso relievo*, and between each arch is a human figure. The anti-room has nothing worth notice but the mantel piece, which, however, is much more modern than the outside."[b]

I have now given you all that I can collect respecting this pre-eminently worthy man, a man in every way in advance of the age in

a "Nos executores suos prædictos in lecto transmigrationis suæ districtius oneravit, suam nobis in hac parte voluntatem plenius declarando."—*Charter of Foundation of Whittington's College*, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi., p. 744.

b This may be the house mentioned in Whittington's will, or it may be the house alluded to in page 741 of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, which was bought by his executors for the first College, and which was alienated into lay hands, in the person of Armigel Wade, 2 Edw. VI.—See *Appendix*.

"In Hart Street, four doors from Mark Lane, up a gateway, are the remains of the residence of the celebrated Whittington."—Lambert's *Hist. of London*.

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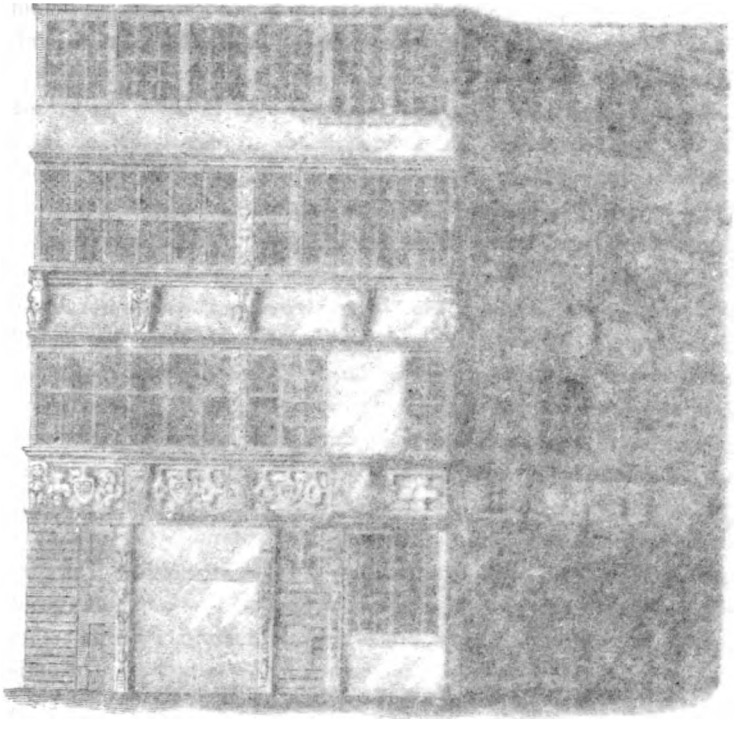

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... of the poor, there is still a thought of
... He provides for the gift of a penny, meat
... day, to every man, woman, and child
... whether it was every man, woman, and c
... man, woman, and ... attending ...
was ...

... I may say, you would perhaps like to know ...
... the house in which Washington lived. A description ...
... ing, is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July
... part II., p. ..., with an engraving ... the
Pall Mall, ... doors from Marlborough ..., ...
... observed, the writer, "in the best houses as Wash-
... ington, and ... especially external, warrants ...
of ... ... are of a superior kind from ...
usage ... ... is much ... ... was
first ... ... in ... ... of
... ... common, except ... ...
... ... The wings are supported ... by ...
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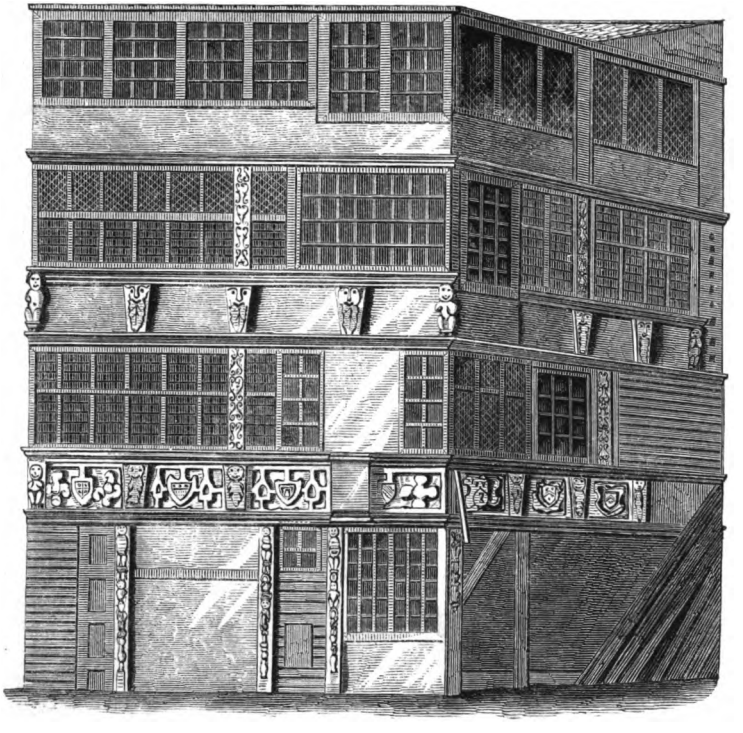

WHITTINGTON'S HOUSE, HART STREET,

CRUTCHED FRIARS.

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which he lived, and affording a most valuable example to all succeeding generations, whether we consider his perseverance in amassing a fortune, and the right use of it when made; whether we consider his charities, his patriotism, or his loyalty; when we think of the way in which he availed himself of every new discovery for the improvement of his city and his countrymen; whether we consider his unflinching honesty and integrity; whether we look at him as a supporter of the dignity of the crown, or the champion of the rights of the poor, in all positions and under all circumstances, we perceive in him the example of all that is good, noble, honorable, charitable, generous, virtuous, pious, and munificent. I find him to have been the pattern of a thousand virtues, but I do not find recorded against him a single vice. I would only conclude with our blessed Lord's words, "Go and do thou likewise."

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

To PAGE 25.

It would be not a little singular if, as my friend Mr. Albert Way suggests, the Bow Bell should have been cast at Gloucester, one of the earliest bell foundries in England having been established there: John of Gloucester was a celebrated founder at that place in the reign of Edward III. The monks of Ely employed him to make four monster bells, and it is by no means improbable that the authorities of Bow, in Cheape, may also have engaged the services of that celebrated man. There must have been something peculiar in the tone of the bell to recall our young friend to his duty. Had he heard the bell of the Abbey at Gloucester, and was there a similarity of tone in the great bell of Bow, which reminded him of his native County, and the undesirableness of returning to the place whence he had fled? Home, under the circumstances suggested in the theory of our biography, would be the last place to which the truant would wish to return; better to go back to his employment and make the best of it.

To PAGE 29.

There are, however, even better reasons to be assigned for the tradition that London Bridge was built on woolsacks. We find that Henry II. ordered a tax to be levied on the people, of no less than six shillings and eight pence upon every sack of wool of twenty-six stone weight, which levy was assigned to the building of London Bridge: and Edward I.[c] set a new toll of forty shillings upon every sack of

c Patent Rolls, Exchequer. 3 Edw. I. A.D. 1274.

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wool, to be applied to the same purpose. This was considered to be a most grievous burden, and as it appears to have been levied upon the whole kingdom, and not upon the inhabitants of London only, it caused great discontent among the people, the cost of whose clothing was materially enhanced by this impost. It was no unmeaning figure, therefore, which led to the saying that London Bridge was built on woolsacks. The historical connection of Queen Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III., with London Bridge, is as well authenticated as any other part of our English history. Matthew of Westminster,[d] in his *Flores Historiarum*, relates, that as this Queen was going by water, A.D. 1263, to Windsor, just as her barge was preparing to pass London Bridge, the rabble stopped her boat and insulted her with the most abusive language and threats, endeavouring to upset her barge, and nearly killing the Queen herself, by throwing heavy stones and mud upon her; with difficulty she escaped to the King, who had fortified himself within the Tower of London. We find also that in 1269 a Patent[e] was issued by Henry III., in which was granted to Eleanor, Queen of England, the custody of London Bridge, with the liberties thereof.

d Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Hist. London*, 1570. Fol. Pt. II. p. 315.

e Patent Rolls, 54 Henry III., 4th Membrane, 3rd Article.

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APPENDIX.

WILL OF RICHARD WHITTINGTON.

Testamentum Riči Whityngton nup Civis ⁊ Aldři London.

Rolls of Deeds and Wills, No. 151 M 9. b.

Plita terre tenta in Hustingo Londoñ die Lune px̄ post Festum Scaꝛ̃ ꝯpetue ⁊ Felicitatis Anno Regni Reg̃. Henrici Sexti post conquestum primo.

Dčis die ⁊ anno venit hic Joñes Carpenter unus Executoꝛ̃ Testamenti Riči Whityngton nup Civis ⁊ Aldermanni Londoñ ⁊ ꝑbare fecit testamentū p̄dči Riči quoad Articulos laicum feodū tangentes p Ričm Wardewyk ⁊ Willm̃ Baldyng testes juratos ⁊ diligenꝑ examinatos qui dixerunt sup̄ sacramentū suū qd̄ presentes fuerunt ubi p̄dčus Ricūs Whityngton suū condidit testamentū in hunc modum.

In nomine sče ⁊ individue Trinitatis prīs ⁊ filii ⁊ Spūs sči Amen. Quinto die Septembris Anno Dñi Miłmo cccc^mo vicesimo primo et regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum nono. Ego Ricūs Whityngton Civis ⁊ Aldermannus Londoñ compos mentis et in mea sana memoria condo p̄sens testamentū meū in hunc modum. Imprimis lego ⁊ coñendo aīam meam Deo Omnipotenti bt̄eq̄ Marie Virgini ⁊ omnb̄ꝛ̃ sčis corpusq̄ meum sepeliendꝰ in Ecčlia Sči Mičhis de Paternoster Chirche in Ryola Londoñ scīlt ex ꝑte boriali summi altaris ejusdem Ecčlie. Et volo qd̄ primo ⁊ principaliꝑ p̄ omnib̄ꝛ̃ oñia debita que de jure cuiqm̃ debeo plenar solvanꝑ. Item lego p̄ expensis meis funeraī̃ honeste complend̄ ⁊ ad dicend̄ quoꝛt vespre post obitum meū placebo ⁊ dirige ac in crastino missam de requiem cū nota p̄ mensem p̄ anima mea ⁊ animab̄ꝛ̃ prīs mei mr̄is mee Alicie uxr̄is mee ⁊ oñi illoꝛ̃ p̄ quib̄ꝛ̃ merito teneor cunctorꝰ q̄ fidelium defunctorum C^te. Itm̃ lego cuiꝛt paup̄i homini mulieri ⁊ infanti in die exequiarꝰ mearꝰ unū denaī̃ ⁊c Itm̃ lego executoribꝫ meis subscriptis totum illud teñtum

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meum quo inħito in ꝑochia Sĉi Michis de Paternoster Chirche in Ryola London ac oĩnia ꝑas ꝛ teñta mea que ħeo in ꝑochia Sĉi Andree ꝑpe Castrum Baynardi Londoñ et in ꝑochia Sĉi Michis in Bassyngeshawe necnon in ꝑochia Sĉi Botħi ext[a] Bissopesgate ejusdem civitatis et alibi in London ut ipī ea post decessum meum qm̃cicius coĩode fieri poꝑit vendant ꝛ pecuniam inde ꝑceptam distribuant ꝑ anima mea ꝛ animabꝫ ꝑdiis sicut sibi manis oportunũ videbit saluti anime mee ꝑfc᷒e ꝛ Deo placere sciħt in missis celebrandꝫ ꝛ aliis opibꝫ caritatis ac in complimentũ hujus testamenti mei residuũ vero omniũ bonorꝫ meꝝꝛ ubicunq; existent post debita mea primo ꝛ principaliꝑ soluta ꝛ legata mea completa lego execuꝑ meis ut ipī illud disponant in opibꝫ caritatis ꝑ anima mea sicut me vellent ꝑ animabꝫ suis fac᷒e casu consimili. Hujus autem mei meos ordino Execuꝑ Johannem Coventre Joħem White Cĥicum[a] Joħem Carpenter ꝛ Wiłłm Grove ac eorꝫ supvisore Wiłłm Babynton[b] ꝛ lego dĉo Joħi Coventre ꝛc. In cujus rei testimoniũ huic ꝑsenti testamento meo Sigillũ meum apposui. Dat London in die ꝛ anno suꝑ dcis.

MEMORANDA OF INSTRUMENTS, AUTHORISING THE BUILDING AND ENDOWMENT OF WHITTINGTON'S COLLEGE.[c]

FROM DUGDALE, ETC.

The Instrument of Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Papal Legate, granting permission to proceed in the combined foundation of

a White never appears to have taken an active part in the executorship.

b In a deed dated 10th Aug., 1 Henry VI., 1423, William Babyngton is described as Chief Justice of our Lord the King, of the Common Bench. (Rot. 153 m. 7.) He was made a Knight of the Bath on the coronation of Henry VI. Tindal's continuation of Rapin.

c The *Ordinances* and *Charter of Foundation* of Whittington's College are given *in extenso*, in Latin, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, so that they need not be repeated here. They are extremely interesting, as enabling us to trace the pedigree of our hero, and also as exhibiting many of the manners and customs of that day.

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the College and Hospital, is the first Charter given by Dugdale, dated at Lambeth, 20th November 1424, followed by the Charter of the Executors, prescribing the Statutes and Ordinances of the College, dated on the 18th December following. The third Instrument printed by Dugdale, is the Charter of increased endowment to the College from the Executors, with some additional Statutes. The fourth concerns the endowment and Statutes of the Hospital separately. The foundation, generally, was dedicated to the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, St. Michael, and All Saints. The College was for a Master and four Fellows, all to be Masters of Arts, besides, Clerks, Choristers, &c. The Hospital, on the East side of the College, was endowed for thirteen poor people, the chief of whom was to be called Tutor. The Charter of Foundation for the Hospital, comprizing its regulations, was dated December 21st, 1424.

In the year already mentioned, the Executors of Whittington allowed £63 per annum toward the support of the College, till it could be better endowed; yet, after all the benefactions, the whole of its revenues were valued (26 Henry VIII.) at no more than £20. 1s. 8d. per annum. The site of the College was granted to Armigel Wade, 2 Edward VI.[d] The Alms Houses for the poor men continued; they are still under the direction of the Mercer's Company, who, besides a room to each of the pensioners, according to Maitland, allow them 3s. 10d. a week; to the men every third year coats and breeches, and to the women gowns and petticoats. (Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Bohn's Edit. 1846.)

The Instruments above mentioned are all given in full in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, to which refer.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE FAMILY OF WHITTINGTON,

ALLUDED TO IN THE PRECEDING WORK.

Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem.

VOL. II.

33 *Edwd. III. (A.D,* 1360,*) No.* 93.—Willus de Wetyngton Chr *utlegatus.* Paunteleye maner^{9} ut de honore de Clyfford, Glouc. Solers Hope maner^{9}, Hereford.

d See account of Whittington's palace, page 76 of the preceding Memoir.

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Page 323, 46 *Edwd. III., (A.D.* 1373-4*). No.* 76.—Johã uxor Willĩ de Whityngton, Stoke Archer[e] maner[9], Glouc.

VOL. III.

Page 235, *No.* 34, 22 *Richard II.*, (*A.D.* 1399.)—Paunteleye unum feodum per Williñ de Whytinton. Glouc. et March Wallie.

Page 303, *No.* 49, 7 *Henry IV.*—Cecilia uxor Guidonis de Whitington soror Ricĩ Browning, &c. Probat[9] etat[9], Glouc.

VOL. IV.

Page 454, *No.* 16.—Thomas de Cobberleye filius et hæres Johannæ quæ fuit uxor Willielmi de Whityngton defuncti. Probatio ætatis, Glouc.

VOL. IV.

Page 472, *No.* 1, *Anno* 19, *Hen. VI.*—Guido Whityngton Armiger. "Nullas[f] tenuit terr[9] neque ten[9] in comitatu." Glouc. et March Wallie.

Page 206, *No.* 1.—[g]Escaet[9] de Anno Viginti Henrici Sexti, Guido Whytington. Null[9] tenuit terr[9], Hereford.

Page 96, *No.* 32, 3 *Henry VI.*—Paunteley 1 feod per Willñ de Whitington, Glouc. et March Wallie.

e She must have held this as her jointure from her second husband, Thomas de Berkeley, as we find that Stoke Archer, or as it is commonly called Stoke Orchard, in the Parish of Cleeve, Gloucestershire, became again the jointure estate of Margaret, widow of Thomas de Berkeley, the son of the former.—*Cal. Inquis. post mortem*, Vol. III. p. 304, No. 22, 7 Henry IV.

Margareta quæ fuit uxor Thomæ Berkeley de Coverley (*i. e.* Cubberley, or Coberley,) (inter alia.)

Stoke Archer tertia pars manerii, } Glouc.
Coberley tertia pars manerii, }

f g It is difficult to reconcile these two Inquests, which seem to refer to the same person, with Sir Robert Atkyns' account, unless *this* Guy de Whittington be a different person from the Sir Guy who was High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 6 Henry VI., and 12 Henry VI. It is possible that he may have been another brother of Richard, his having "nullas terr' neque ten' in comitatu," (no lands or tenements in the County,) would seem to render this probable; thus he would have been an uncle of Sir Guy, for the latter could not be said to have had "no lands or tenements," in as much as he possessed Pauntley and Staunton in his own right, and Notgrove, Lye, and Rodborough in right of his wife. If we are to consider the Annulet, in Sir Richard Whittington's coat of arms, as an indication of the position he held in the family, we should place him as *fifth* son, leaving one more son not accounted for in our pedigree, besides this Guy.

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Parliamentary Writs.

A.D. 1311.—Richard de Whitington[h] manucaptor of Johes Monyword, Citizen, returned for Hereford.

A.D. 1316.—Willm̃ de Whitington certified, pursuant to writ tested at Clipston, 5th March, as Lord of the Township of Pauntley, in the County of Gloucester. Certified, in like manner, as Lord of the Township of Hope Solers, in the County of Hereford.

PATENT ROLLS.

Page 230, 19 *Richard II.*—Rex confirmavit Roberto Whitington consanguineo[i] Roberti de Staunton liberam warrenam in terris suis de Staunton in com̃ Wigorn ac parcum suum de Hawkeshurne in Hawgrove prout in 17 Chart. Edw. III. concess^{o} dicto Robt^{o} de Staunton.

III. et ult. Pat., 20 *Richard II.*—Rex constituit Ricum Whitington Majorem et Escaetorem London.

IV. Pat., 1 *Henry VI.*—Quod executores testamenti Ric̃ Whitington nuper civis et merceri London gaolam Regis de Newgate una cum porta ejusdem infra civitatem London possint prosternere et ne novo ædificare, &c.

Calendarium Inquis. ad quod damnum.

Page 361, 11 *Henry IV., No.* 48.—Ricus de Whytington et Henr. London et alii. Dederunt Johi White persone eccle Sc̃i Michis in Paternoster Chirche quandam parcellam terre in poch ibm̃, London.

Page 362, 12 *Henry IV., No.* 16.—Ricus Whityngton et alii. Dederunt Majori et coĩtati civit^{o} London mañium sive placeam voc^{o} le Leadenhalle cum pertin^{o} in civit^{o} pred^{o}, &c. London.

[h] This Richard was probably an uncle or great uncle of Sir Richard.

[i] Robert Whittington was heir to his brother William, who died without issue, having married the heiress of the Stauntons, he thus became possessed of the property of Staunton in Worcestershire, the adjoining parish to Pauntley, which descended to his son, Sir Guy, who was Lord of Staunton, 1433. (See Nash's *History of Worcestershire*, Vol. II., p. 372.)

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APPLICATION OF WALTER DE SOLERS TO KING JOHN ON THE SUBJECT OF THE ADVOWSON OF PAUNTLEY.

"Walter de Solers petens dat viginti solidos pro habenda assiza apud Westmonasterium super Advocationem Ecclesiæ de Pantesleg versus Abbatem de Cormaille tenentem in eo statu quo ultiọ remansit eo quod predictus Abbas Dominum Regem ad Warrantum taxaret ad p̱ cartam suam. H'ᵗ brẽ Mandatum Vic. ꝛ." 16 John, A.D. 1214. (See Note to page 16.)

ISSUE ROLL, EASTER, 12 HENRY IV.

22nd August. To Hugh Lord de Burnall. In money paid him, by assignment made this day, by the hands of Richard Whityngton, citizen and merchant of London, in discharge of 100 marks, which the Lord the King, with the assent of his Council, commanded to be paid him for the charges and expenses directed by him to be expended upon l'Ermyte de Foy Casyn and other Ambassadors from France, lately sent to our Lord the King to treat upon certain affairs, viz. for the conduct of the said Ambassadors from the Town of Dover to Gloucester, to the King's presence there. By Writ, &c. 66—13—4.

ISSUE ROLLS,[k] 7 HEN. V.

22nd Nov. To Richard Whityngton, citizen and alderman of London. In money paid to him, by the hands of Richard Knyghtley, in discharge of 2000 marks, which he lent to the Lord the King, at the receipt of his Exchequer, on the 12th of June, in the fifth year, as appears by the Roll of Receipts, &c. £333. 6s. 8d.

LOAN FROM WHITTINGTON TO HENRY IV.

Issue Roll, 17th March, 14 Hen. IV.

To Richard Whityngton, citizen and merchant of London. In money paid to him, by assignment made this day, in discharge of £1000,

k It also appears by these Rolls that Richard Whityngton, thrice Lord Mayor of London, advanced other large sums of money to the King.

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which he lent to the Lord the King, at the receipt of the Exchequer, viz. on the 2nd day of March last past, as appears in the Receipt Roll of that day, £1000.

WHITTINGTON'S LOAN TO HENRY V. FOR MAINTAINING THE SIEGE OF HARFLEUR.

De mutuo ad Manutenendum Obsidium Villæ de Harflewe. Pro Ricardo Whityngton.

A.D. 1415. *An.* 3 *Hen. V. Fat.* 3 *Hen. V. p.* 2. *m.* 35.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c, salutem. Sciatis quod. Cum dilectus nobis Richardus Whityngton Civis Londoniæ Septingentas Marcas nobis mutuaverit et illas nobis usque Harflewe ad eas pro Obsidio villæ prædictæ Deo dante manutenendo applicandas transmiserit.

Nos volentes promptam et securam resolutionem dictarum Septingentarum Marcarum præfato Richardo per nos ex hac causa fieri ut tenemur. Concessimus eidem Richardo quod ipse habeat et percipiat dictas Septingentas Marcas de primis Denariis nostris de custuma nostra lanarum in Portu civitatis nostræ Londoniæ ac in portubus villarum de Sancto Botholpho et Kyngeston super Hull provenientibus: videlicet—In dicto Portu Londoniæ ducentas libras. Et in prædicto portu villæ de Sancto Botholpho ducentas marcas. Ac in dicto portu de Kyngeston super Hull ducentas marcas. Per manus collectorum custumæ prædictæ secundum formam et effectum quarumdam Talliarum præfato Richardo in hac parte factarum et levatarum.

In cujus, &c. Teste Johanne Duce Bedfordiæ custode Angliæ apud Westm. secundo die Septembris.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. ix. p. 311.

ISSUES OF THE EXCHEQUER, BY FRD^K. DEVON, 1837, FROM HENRY III. TO HENRY VI.

Issue Roll, Easter, 3 *Henry IV.*

19th Ap^l. to Master Jno. Chandler Clerk appointed by the Lord the King and his Council Treasurer to Blanch the King's Eldest daughter

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in money paid to him by assignment made this day by the hands of Richard Clifford Clerk Junior for ten cloths of gold and other merchandize purchased of Richard Whityngton citizen and mercer of London £215 - 13 - 4 and by the hands of Wm. Cromer citizen and clothier of the s[d] city £380 for the apparel and paraphernalia of the s[d] Blanch in her next voyage to Cologne for the solemnization of a marriage between the son of the King of the Romans and the said Blanch by writ &c. £595 - 13 - 7.

ORDER FOR PAYMENT TO WHITTINGTON FOR THE PRINCESS PHILIPPA'S WEDDING DRESS.

Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. IV.

28 July,

To Richard Clifford Junior Clerk of the wardrobe to the Lady Philippa the King's daughter Queen of Sweden Denmark and Norway. In money paid to him by assignment made this day by the hands of Richard Whityngton citizen and mercer of London for pearls and cloth of gold purchased from him at the solemnization of the marriage between the said Philippa and the King of the Romans in those parts. By writ, &c. £248 - 10 - 6 -

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THE COMMISSION TO WHITTINGTON TO REBUILD THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Pro Abbate Westmonasterii quo Rex Regalitatis Insignia suscepit.

A.D. 1413. *Anno* 1 *Hen. V. Pat.* 1, *Hen. V. p* 4, *m* 5.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali.

Et pro salute animæ nostræ et ob reverentiam Dei et Beati Petri in cujus honore Abbatia Westmonasteriensis dinoscitur dedicari ac etiam gloriosi Confessoris Regis Edwardi et diversorum inclitorum Progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Angliæ in Abbatia prædicta quiescentium.

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Necnon pro eo quod in eadem Abbatia prout placuit Altissimo Insignia Regalitatis nostræ suscepimus.

Volentes pro constructione et reparatione Navis Abbatiæ illius (quæ a diu Ruinam passa fuit et infecta remanet) cum bonis nobis a Deo collatis et conferendis quam citius commode poterimus providere.

Concessimus, dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et conventui Abbatiæ prædictæ in auxilium Perfectionis et constructionis Navis prædictæ Mille marcas percipiendas annuatim quamdiu nobis placuerit, videlicet:—

Quingentas Marcas de Exitibus Hanaperii Cancellariæ nostræ per manus custodis ejusdem pro tempore existentis.

Et Quingentas marcas de custuma Lanarum, Coriorum et pellium lanutarum in Portu Civitatis nostræ Londoniæ per manus collectorum ejusdem custumæ pro tempore existentium.

Ad Terminos Paschæ, Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ, S. Michælis et Natalis Domini per æquales portiones.

Et ulterius, pro pleniori et celeriori executione concessionis nostræ prædictæ prospicere volentes ac de fidelitate et circumspectione dilectorum nobis Ricardi Whityngton et Ricardi Harweden Monachi Abbatiæ prædictæ plenius confidentes assignavimus ipsos Ricardum et Ricardum ad prædictas mille marcas in locis prædictis annuatim ad terminos prædictos recipiendum, et ad easdem Mille marcas circa Perfectionem et Constructionem Navis prædictæ, per supervisum carissimi consanguinei nostri Edwardi Ducis Eborum et Venerabilis in Christo patris Henrici Episcopi Wyntoniensis Cancellarii nostri Avunculi nostri carissimi fideliter expendendum. Ita quod iidem Ricardus et Ricardus rationabilem compotum de summis per ipsos virtute literarum nostrarum præsentium recipiendis et circa perfectionem et constructionem Navis prædictæ ut præmittitur expendendis eisdem Duci et Cancellario quoties et quando ad hoc fuerint debita requisiti reddant et reddere teneantur.

In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium Decimo quarto die Decembris.

Per ipsum Regem.

Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. IX. p. 78.

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LICENSE TO THE EXECUTORS OF RICHARD WHITTINGTON TO REBUILD THE GAOL OF NEWGATE,

De licentia construendi Gaolam de Newgate.

A.D. 1423. *Ao.* 1. *Hen. VI.* Rex omnibus ad quos, &c, salutem. Sciatis quod, de avisamento et consensu concilii nostri concessimus et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, dilectis nobis Johanni Coventre Johanni Carpenter Johanni White et Willielmo Grove, executoribus testamenti Ricardi Whityngton nuper civis et Merceri Civitatis nostræ Londoniæ defuncti quod ipsi in complementum ultimæ voluntatis prædicti Ricardi Gaolam nostram de Newgate in civitati nostra prædicta una cum porta [l] ejusdem Gaolæ prosterni et unam aliam Gaolam sufficientem ibidem cum bonis ejusdem Ricardi pro salva custodia Prisoniarorum nostrorum et hæredum nostrorum Reædificare facere possint absque impetitione nostri aut eorumdem hæredum nostrorum Justiciarorum officiariorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel hæredum nostrorum quorumcumque.

Concessimus etiam et licentiam dedimus de avisamento et assensu prædictis pro nobis et dictis Hæredibus nostris quantum in nobis est dilectis nobis Majori et communitati civitatis nostræ prædictæ, quod ipsi omnes Prisonarios infra Gaolem prædictam ad præsens existentes removere et tam illos quam omnes prisonarios qui per auctoritatem nostram vel dictorum hæredum custodiæ suæ de cætero committentur in alio loco sufficienti et congruo infra civitatem prædictam quousque prædicta Gaola de Newgate reædificata fuerit poni facere et custodiri possint absque impetitione nostri vel Hæredum nostrorum Justiciarorum officiarorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel eorumdem Hæredum nostrorum quorumcumque.

In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium duodecimo die Maii.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom X., p. 287.

[l] It was over the gate erected in lieu of this that the executors placed the statue of Whittington with his Cat.

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GRANT OF APPLICATION OF ROBERT WHITTINGTON TO THE PARLIAMENT FOR REDRESS,

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS BEING SEIZED, TOGETHER WITH HIS SON, AND CARRIED OFF BY FORCE, BY ORDERS OF RICHARD OLDCASTLE, TO THE HILLS AND FORESTS OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

Parliamentary Rolls.

A.D. 1316. *4 Hen. V.* 15. Item fait a remembr' q̃ les communes assemblez en yceste Parlement baillerent a Roy en mesme le Parlement une Supplication a eux de part Robert Whityngton Esquier et Guy son fitz direct et prierent sur ceo les ditz communes a Roy q̃ les parties complaignantz en ycell fuissent remediez en le cas, p̱ ordinance affaire en mesme le parlement et de la quell supplication le tenure cy ensuit.

A les tres sages communes en cest present Parlement supplient tres humblement Robert Whityngton Esquier et Guy son fitz; q̃ come ils, le Lundy proschein devaunt le fest de les Apposteles Simon et Jude pendant cest Parlement en chivantz de la citee de Hereford ovesq̃ troys lour Vadletz et deux pages envers lour hostile furent malicieusement et sans cause resonable, en assaut et agait purpense ove fort mains pris a la ville de Mordeford en la Counte de Hereford p̱ Philip Lyngeyn John Crewe Richard Loutley Laurence Smythe William Kervere Wauter Bradford John Bradford and Wauter Walker servatetz de Richard Oldcastle Esquier et p̱ cux et autres malfesours disconuz jesq̃ a le noumbre de trent persons armez and arraiez a faire de Guerre d'ilieoq̱ sodenament amesnez ove lour Chivalx et hernois tanq̃ a un Mountyn appelle Dynmorehille en mesme le counte et illeoq̃s de lour Chivalx et hernois despoillez et d'illeoq̃s noetaundrent la noet ensuyant tanq a un Chapell disconuz p̱ estimation distaunt de le dit Mounteyn p̱ deux Leges a pu amesnez et p̱ tut mesme la noet en mesme la Chapell detenuz ascun foitz manassez d'estre tuez a la foitz manassez d'estre amesnez en Gales p̱ les melfessours avaunt ditz et autres gentz disconnuz de lour assent la adherentz et issint la durement emprisone et detenuz en graund dispoir de lour vies: et le Marsdy lendemayn ensuyant ils lesserount le dit Guy sur son seurment d'aler en lour message, luy chargeantz de revenir a eux areremain et issint fist

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la noet ensuant et en le mesme temps eux amesneront le dit Robert de bois en bois, p̄ diversez bois disconuz tanq̄ a un auncien Molyn en mesme le Countee et la les ditz Robert et Guy andonges en mesme le Molyn enprisonererent p̄ tut la seconde noet et manasseront d'estre amesnez en Gales si issint soit q'ils ne voillent faire sufficeantz gentz de dit Counte d'estre obligez a les ditz malfesours suisnomez ou a autres a lour denomination en six centz liverez q̄ les ditz Robert et Guy quaunt ils viendront en lour Pais a large relesseront a les ditz malfesours toutz maners actions q̄ux ils purrent avoir devers eux et sur ceo lesseront le dit Guy d'aler per querer les persons q̄ux serroient issint obligez et deteindroient le dit Robert pur mesme le suerte et puis apres c'est assavoir le Joesdy proschein apres le dit Fest des Apposteles Simon et Jude John Broun Gentilman John Paunton Gentilman de mesme le Counte et John Riche Gentilman del Counte de Glouc. chescun de eux p̄ son escript obligatorie severalment fuist oblige a un Wauter Hakeluyt Esquier del dit counte de Hereford p̄ denomination de les ditz malfeisours en cent et unsze liverez sur condition q̄ si le dit Robert Whityngton enseallerоit a l'avauntdit Philip Lyngayn et ses compaignons et a Richard Oldecastell et Wauter Hakeluyt Esquiers deux acquitauncez et relessez generalx de toutz maners actions personels del commencement de mounde tanq̄ al Fest de Toutz Seintz andonq̄s proschein a venir, q̄ adonq̄ les ditz escriptz obliger soient de null force autrement qu'ils estoisent en lour force et vertu; a cause de quoy le dit Robert Whityngton ad enseale deux relessez en le forme avauntdit a tres grevous et tres dolorous paynez et tres sovent doute de Morte de les suppliantz avauntditz. De please a voz tres sagez discressions de considerer lez orriblez faitz et tortz avauntditz et prier a ñre tres soverain S̄r le Roy q̄ luy please de l'assent des Seignr̄s Espirituelx et Temporelx en cest present Parlement ordiner et cstablier p̄ auctorite de le dit Parlement q̄ si bien les ditz acquitaunces et relesses p̄ le dit Robert Whityngton faitz come autre q̄conq̄ fait p̄ ascun Liege de Roy en cas semblable a faire en temps a venir soient et soit de nul force et vertue mez de tut voide en ley. Et outre q̄ suffisaunt remedie soit ordine u mesme l'auctorite si bien pur les ditz suppliantz, et chescun de eux en cest cas come pur toutz autres q̄ux serront grevez en cas semblable de temps a venir pur Dieux et en oevere de charitee.

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La quell supplication lieu en le dit Parlement et bien entendue fuit mesme la supplication p le Roy de l'assent des Seignrs Espirituelx et Temporelx en ycell esteantz et a la priere de les ditz communes respondu en le manere ensuant.

Soient les parties nomez en la petition et les autres malfesours q̃ serront declarez p les dites parties p auctorite de cest Parlement amesnez devaunt le counseil ñre Sr̃ le Roy ovesq̃ les escriptz et evidences especifiez en ycell p tiel proces come as Sñs de mesme le counseill pur le temps esteantz p advis des Juges du Roy semblera multz expedient. Et q̃ mesmes les Sr̃s eiant p l'auctorite suisdite plein poair d'oier et terminer p advis de tieux Juges toutz les maters continuz en la dite petition et les circumstances d'icelles et eut faire tiele agarde et execution come p le dit advis eux multz semblera en le cas et ces p l'auctorite avauntdite. Et en cas q̃ les parties et malfesours suisditz ne veignent a jour a eux assigne celle partie, q'adonqes soit brief fait hors de la Chauncellerie adrescer al Viscount del Counte ou la dite trespas est suppose estre fait retournable devaunt le dit Counseill a certain jour a limiter p discretion des ditz Sr̃s pur faire proclamation en mesme le Counte q̃'ils veignent devaunt le Counseil le Roy pur y responder a les ditz materes. Et s'ils veignent a mesme le jours alors les ditz Sr̃s de Conseil facent et procedent en la matere come desuis est dit. Et s'ils ne veignent my a dit jour et proclamation eut soit tesmoigne q'adonqes soient ils tenuz convictz de les matiers comprisez en la petition suisdite. Et q̃ mesmes les Sr̃s du Conseil aient poair p auctorite du dit Parlement d' agarder damages p lour discretions a chescun des ditz Pleintifs celle partie et q̃ les ditz malfesours soient commys a Prisone illeoqes a demurer tanq̃ ils eient fait fyn et ranceon a Roy pur les trespasses et offenses suisditz : et q' adonqes toutz les escriptz et evidences suisditz soient en tout voidez adnullez et de null force pur toutz jours.

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LIST OF JOHN CARPENTER'S BOOKS.[m]

Showing the Contents of a Library Temp. Henry V.—Henry VI.

1. "My little book, containing 'Alanus de Anticlaudiano', and other notable things."
2. "My little book, containing 'Alanus de Planctu,' with other notable things."
3. Alanus de Planctu.
4. "My book 'De Meditationibus et Orationibus Sancti Anselmi.'"
5. "That book on Architecture which Master William Cleve gave to me."
6. "That book 'cum Secretis Aristotelis,' &c., which my Master Marchaunt gave to me."
7. Liber de regimine dominorum, otherwise called Secretum secretorum Aristotelis.
8. "That book 'Bibliæ abbreviatæ,' &c, which John Sudbury gave to me."
9. A book 'De corpore pollecie,' in French.
10. De miseria conditionis humanæ.
11. De remediis utriusque fortunæ.
12. Dispositio et regimen bellorum duorum et acierum guerrarum.
13. "That book which Master Roger Dymok made, 'Contra duodecem errores et hereses Lollardorum,' and gave to King Richard, and which book John Wilok gave to me."
14. Ecclesiasticus.
15. Historiæ Provinciarum.
16. Law books of forms and precedents.
17. Philobiblon Ricardi Dunelmensis.
18. "That little book called 'Prosperus de vita contemplativa,' with other things in the same."
19. Quidam de Vetula.
20. Seneca ad Callionem.
21. Seneca de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus.
22. Sententiæ diversorum prophetarum: translated from Greek into Latin, by Peter de Alphense.
23. "My little book 'De parabolis Solamonis.'"
24. Speculum morale regium.
25. Theology. "My book in French, which belonged to Sir Thomas Pykworth, containing the Ten Commandments, the Twelve Articles of Faith, the Seven Theological Virtues, and other things."
26. Tractatus dictaminis.

Also, sundry books, "De devotionibus, moralitatibus, et dictaminibus," and sundry "good and rare books," of which no description is given.

m For a fuller account of Carpenter's Library, see Brewer's *Life and Times of John Carpenter*. 8vo., London, 1856. The object of this list is only to shew the style of books then read and valued.

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LIVES OF WHITTINGTON.[n]

1. History of Sir Richard Whittington. Printed at Sympson's, in Stonecutter Street, Fleet Market.
2. The Life of Sir Richard Whittington, Knight, and four times Lord Mayor of London, in the reigns of Edward III.,[o] Richard II., and Henry V. By the Author of Memoirs of George Barnwell Harlow. Printed by B. Flower, for M. Jones, No. 5, Newgate Street, London. 1811.
3. The Life of Sir Richard Whittington, Knight, four times Lord Mayor of London. London: Published by Thos. North, 64, Paternoster Row. 1828.
4. Life of Whittington, in Woodcock's Lives of Lord Mayors.
5. Sir Richard Whittington's Advancement. Ballad Tale in Mackay's Collection, p. 4.
6. Whittington and His Cat: an Entertainment for Young People, by Miss Corner.
7. Chappell's Popular Music of Olden Time, pt. xi., p. 515 (Music for Ballad.)
8. Whittington (Dick) Life and Times; an historical romance, with twenty-two spirited and humorous engravings, thick 8vo. 1841.

n None of these seem to have been compiled from any documentary evidence; although they profess to be so, yet not a single reference is given, and they are full of inaccuracies as to dates and historical facts.

o Whittington did not become Mayor until 20 Richard II.

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A LIST OF SOME OF THE MEN OF NOTE, FLOURISHING AT SOME PERIOD OF WHITTINGTON'S LIFE.

Edward III.
John Wickliff. John, the Chaplain.
Chaucer, Gower, and Lidgate, Poets.
John de Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, who first translated the Bible into English.
Ralph Higdon, Author of Polychronicon.
Sir John Froissart, Chronicler.
William of Wykeham.
Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.
Richard II. John of Gaunt.
Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI.
Sir Robert Knollys, celebrated warrior.
Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cobham, the celebrated Wickliffite, hung and burnt.
Henry Hotspur, Earl of Northumberland.
Thomas Walshingham, Historian.
Thomas Otterbourne, Historian.
Thomas de Elmham, Historiographer of Henry V.
Titus Livius, an Author with an assumed name, wrote History of Henry V.
William Bottoner, better known as William of Worcester, Historian.
Sir John Falstolf, warrior.
John Rous, Antiquary.
Sir Thomas Littleton, Lawyer.
Robert Fabian, Chronicler.
William Caxton, Mercer, Printer, and Historian.
James I. King of Scotland.
Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Sir John Mandeville, Traveller, &c.
John Cornwail, Master of Grammar.
Richard Pencriche.
Thomas Hoccleve or Occleve.
Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
Sir Wm. Babygton, Chief Justice of Common Bench.
Anthony Wydville, Earl Rivers.
John Huss.
Jerome of Prague.
Pope Gregory XI.
Pope John.
Dante.
Boccaccio.

ADDENDA,

To Note r, p. 71.—Sir Thomas de Berkeley was living in 1852, for in that year we find that—

Thomas de Berkele de Coberleye et Joh^{a} uxor ejus feoffaverunt Joh$\bar{e}$m le Botiller et alios—Archer stoke maner^{e} mediet^{a} Coberleye maner^{e} } Glouc.

Page 12, Note *k*, for Poynty, read Poyntz.

A. LEA, PRINTER, GLOUCESTER.

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